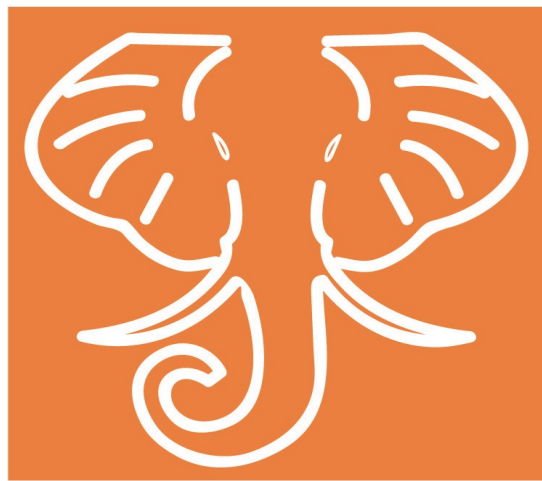


## **Numismatic notes & monographs.**

New York : American Numismatic Society, 1920-

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# NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

*Number* 141

## NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating  
to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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# Contributions to Arabic Metrology

## I.

Early Arabic Glass Weights and Measure Stamps  
Acquired by the American Numismatic Society  
1951 – 1956

By GEORGE C. MILES



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK  
1958



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## FOREWORD

The present little volume is in one sense a continuation of two earlier publications in the *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* series, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (NNM, No. 111, N.Y., 1948) and *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps: A Supplement* (NNM, No. 120, N.Y., 1951); in another sense it is the beginning of a new enterprise. During the past seven years I have had the good fortune to examine a large number of these early Arabic metrological objects and my files are now sufficiently extensive to bring within possible focus the contemplation of a fairly complete corpus of 8th and 9th century Egyptian Arabic glass weights and measure stamps. Before undertaking this comprehensive treatment, however, it would seem desirable to bring out in a series of detailed catalogues, such as the present, the individual collections which I have been able to examine. When these, and perhaps others in private or public collections, have been made available through publications (with, I hope, the collaboration of other students), a thorough corpus, accompanied by an analysis of the data which these objects provide for our understanding of historical metrology, might be put together.

This plan envisages the description of at least seven collections and of a good many scattered pieces. Aside from the new accessions of the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, herewith presented, I have in mind the publication of two other collections in the United States, of three in Egypt and of one in Athens. A part of the great collection in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo has recently been described, but there remains a mass of material in that museum which one hopes will eventually be published.

Mme Launois, the compiler of the partial Cairo catalogue, intimates that she is currently engaged in the publication of the collection in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. The important Llewelyn-Phillips collection in the British Museum awaits description. Meanwhile let us hope that M. M. Jungfleisch will bring out a catalogue of his great collection, without which any corpus would have serious shortcomings.<sup>1</sup>

Since the appearance of *NNM* Nos. 111 and 120, named above, the American Numismatic Society has acquired nearly 300 early Arabic glass weights and stamps, and these are catalogued in the present volume. The number of pieces described in the two earlier monographs was approximately 260, so it will be observed that these new accessions exceed the total already published by this Society. Among the present lot no less than 80 are of previously unpublished types, and some introduce hitherto unrecorded officials' names. No. 201, a weight of the Ṭulūnid Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad, carries the record for the first time down into the fourth quarter of the 9th century (3rd century of the Hijrah), and, if nos. 260–261 are correctly attributed, down to the year 288 A.H. (901 A.D.). Among the pharmaceutical measure stamps there are several with hitherto unrecorded or unidentified medicinals: figs (no. 12), honey (no. 13), jujube (nos. 63–64), whey? (no. 85), and dried pomegranate (nos. 117–119).

The plan of the catalogue follows fairly closely that established in *NNM* No. 111, but the categorization of specifically unattributable pieces is somewhat different. The arrangement is as follows:

- I. Umayyad officials, chronologically (nos. 1–95).
- II. 'Abbāsid officials, chronologically (nos. 96–197)
- III. Ṭulūnids, chronologically (nos. 198–201).

<sup>1</sup> While reading the proofs of these pages I learned with sorrow of the death of M. Jungfleisch in Cairo on March 12, 1958. His collection, I am told, has been dispersed.

- IV. Unidentified officials, alphabetically (nos. 202–210).
- V. Anonymous coin weights (nos. 211–238).
  - A. "Al Muḥammad."
  - B. Pious phrases only.
  - C. Standard.
- VI. Anonymous and unidentified disk-weights (nos. 239–251).
- VII. Anonymous and unidentified ring-weights (nos. 252–261).
- VIII. Anonymous vessel stamps (nos. 262–280).
- IX. Undeciphered vessel stamps (nos. 281–292).

Within categories I–IV the pieces of each official are arranged in the following order: coin weights, disk-weights, ring-weights, vessel stamps. Within each sub-division of category V, the arrangement is in descending order of weight. So also with categories VI and VII. Category VIII is arranged alphabetically (Arabic) by seed or substance. Translations of inscriptions are omitted when a similar type has appeared in *EAG* or *EAG Suppl.* In the physical description of the pieces the diameter (in millimeters) is given first, immediately after the color of the glass, followed by the weight (in grams).

These new accessions have come to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society from a number of different sources. The numerals following the letters ANS (after color, diameter and weight) are museum accession numbers, the key to which is as follows:<sup>1a</sup>

- 46.134 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder
- 48.98 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (purchased from an antique dealer in New York)
- 50.40 Gift of Mrs. Edward T. Newell
- 50.170 Purchased from an antique dealer in New York

<sup>1a</sup> It will be noted that a few pieces were acquired before 1951 but were not included in *NNM* Nos. 111 and 120.

- 51.119 Gift of the late M. Jungfleisch, Cairo  
52.84 Purchased at auction in New York  
53.49 Gift of J. M. Eisenberg, New York  
53.50 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (purchased in New York)  
53.123 Gift of J. M. Eisenberg, New York  
54.14 Gift of M. M. Salton, New York  
54.15 Purchased in New York  
54.154 Gift of Phocion J. Tano, Cairo  
54.155 Gift of the late M. Jungfleisch, Cairo  
54.157 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (purchased from an antique dealer in Cairo)  
54.158 Purchased from antique dealers in Cairo  
54.159 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (purchased from an antique dealer in Cairo)  
54.160 Gift of Prof. A. S. Atiya, Cairo  
54.161 Purchased from an antique dealer in Cairo  
54.164 Gift of Lucas Benachi, Alexandria (Egypt)  
54.168 Purchased from an antique dealer in Cairo  
54.175 Purchased from antique dealers in Cairo  
54.184 Gift of E. C. Anawati, Alexandria (Egypt)  
54.196 Gift of M. M. Salton, New York  
54.199 Purchased in New York  
55.86 Gift of M. M. Salton, New York  
55.141 Purchased from a dealer in London  
55.145 Gift of E. Zygman, New York  
56.8 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (part of a collection originally formed in Cairo)  
56.98 Gift of J. A. Yockers, New York  
56.163 Gift of F. C. C. Boyd, New Jersey  
56.164 Gift of J. A. Yockers, New York  
56.176 Gift of M. M. Salton, New York

## ABBREVIATIONS

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- Allport: Noel L. Allport, *The Chemistry and Pharmacy of Vegetable Drugs*, Brooklyn, 1944.
- Bedevian: A. K. Bedevian, *Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names*, Cairo, 1936.
- Bergmann, *Nominale*: E. von Bergmann, "Die Nominale der Münzreform des Chalifen Abdulmelik," in *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Cl. der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, LXV (Wien, 1870), pp. 239-266.
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- Cairo: A. Launois, *Estampilles et poids faibles en verre omeyyades et abbassides au Musée Arabe du Caire* (Extrait des *Mélanges Islamologiques*, III, Cairo, 1956).
- Dioscorides: *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*. The edition used is Robert T. Gunther's re-edition of the early English translation of John Goodyer, Oxford, 1934.
- Dispensatory*: *The Dispensatory of the United States of America*, 25th ed., Philadelphia, 1955.
- EAG: George C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 111, New York, 1948).
- EAG Suppl.: George C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps: A Supplement* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 120, New York, 1951).
- Fouquet Coll.: P. Casanova, *Catalogue des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la collection Fouquet* (Mémoires... de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, VI, Paris, 1893).
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- Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ: George C. Miles, "A glass Measure issued by Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ," in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, II (Rome, 1956), pp. 148-158.
- Ibn al-Bayṭār: *Kitāb al-jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiyah wa'l-Aghdhiyah*, transl. L. Leclerc, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Vols. 23<sup>1</sup>, 25<sup>1</sup> and 26<sup>1</sup>, Paris, 1877-1883).
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- Schweinfurth: G. Schweinfurth, *Arabische Pflanzennamen aus Aegypten, Algerien und Jemen*, Berlin, 1912.
- University College: Sir Flinders Petrie, *Glass Stamps and Weights illustrated from the Egyptian Collection in University College, London* (Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archaeology in Egypt, XL, London, 1926).

Other references are cited in full where they occur.

## I. Umayyad Officials

*A. Qurrah b. Sharīk*

Governor, 90–96 A.H.: 709–714 A.D.

### COIN WEIGHT

#### 1. *One-half dīnār.*

امرالا	Ordered the a-
ميرقرة	mīr Qurrah:
بميزن نصف	weight of one-half,
واف	full weight.

Pale blue-green, 22; 2.14.  
ANS 53.123

PLATE I

Unpublished. Cf. *EAG*, 1, with a different legend.

### VESSEL STAMPS

#### 2. *One-half ratl of grease.*

.....  
..مرالامير  
..رة نصف  
رطل دهن

Green, 29 × 26 +, chipped at right.  
ANS 54.175

Similar to *EAG*, 2.

I

3. *One-quarter qist*.

امر الامير  
قوة ربع  
قسط  
واف

Blue-green, 30.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 3.

*B. Usāmah b. Zayd*

Finance Director, 96–99 A.H.: 714–717 A.D.  
Interim Governor, 102 A.H.: 720–721 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

4.–5. *One-half dīnār*.

\*  
امر اسا  
مة بن زيد  
ميزان نصف  
واف

Order of Usā-  
mah b. Zayd:  
weight of one-half,  
full weight.

4. Green, 22; 2.13.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE I

5. Very pale blue, 22; 2.14.  
ANS 54.161

Unpublished. Cf. *BM*, 2, and *Cairo*, 11, with different legend.

6. *Fals of 14 qīrāt*.

امر اسامة  
بن زيد ميزان  
فلس اربعة  
(sic) عشر قيرطا

Order of Usāmah  
b. Zayd: weight of  
*fals* of four-  
teen *qīrāt*.

Pale green, 26; 2.74.  
ANS 53.123

PLATE I

Similar to *Fouquet Coll.*, 20, in part incorrectly transcribed.

## DISK-WEIGHT

7. *One-half (ratl ?)*.

..... امر ا	Ordered U[sā]-
..... مة بن	mah b. [Zayd]:
..... بنصف	one-half .....
.....	.....

Green, frg. (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  ?), 75+; thickness, 16; 59.70+.  
ANS 51.119

Unpublished.

## VESSEL STAMPS

8.-9. *One-half qist*.

امر ا	Order of U-
سامة بن ز	sāmah b. Za-
* د نصف	[y]d: one-half
قسط واف	<i>qist</i> , full measure.

8. Green, 36.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE I

9. Green, 37.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *University College*, 89-90; *Cairo*, 3-4.

10.-11. *One-quarter qist*.

امر ا	Order of U-
سامة بن ز	sāmah b. Za-
يد ربع قسط	yd: one-quarter <i>qist</i> ,
واف *	full measure.

10. Green, 40 (frg. lacking).

ANS 53.50

11. Green, 30.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *University College*, 91.

### C. Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ

Finance Director, ca. 99–101 A.H.: 717–720 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

#### VESSEL STAMPS

12. *Qisṭ of figs.*

امر حيان

بن شريح

بقسط تين

وانى

Ordered Ḥayyān

b. Shurayḥ:

*qisṭ* of *tīn*,

full measure.

Green, 34.

ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Unpublished. The word following *qisṭ* on this stamp presented a problem of decipherment. The three letters offer 75 possible different combinations (five possibilities for the first letter, five for the second, and three for the third). However, of these combinations only a few spell recognizable words, and of the latter only two or three have acceptable meanings in the context. Of these by all odds the most likely is *tīn*, “fig”; especially in view of the function of the fig in the mediaeval and ancient *materia medica*. Lane translates the classical Arabic definition of the fig’s medicinal properties:<sup>3</sup> “...a very useful medicine, for it has a laxative property, dissolves phlegm, purifies the kidneys, removes sand of the

<sup>2</sup> For the dates of Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ, see *EAG*, pp. 74–75; a preliminary corpus of his weights and measures is given in my article, *Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ* (see bibliography), pp. 151–153.

<sup>3</sup> Lane, I, p. 325; cf. for the word itself, Bedevian, p. 276, no. 1617, Ahmed Issa, p. 83, Mohammad Sharaf, p. 314, Schweinfurth, p. 84, Muschler, pp. 246–247.

bladder, opens obstructions of the liver and spleen, and fattens the body," etc. In classical Greek times the fig, *Ficus Carica*, especially when dried, was recommended for a wide variety of ailments, including throat, tonsil, lung, kidney and bladder troubles; it was reputed to be effective in coagulating milk, stopping ringing in the ears, as a poultice for gout, leprosy, running sores, toothache and poisonous bites.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār repeats the enumeration of these properties and adds others on the authority of mediaeval Arabic medical writers.<sup>5</sup> In modern times the fig is recognized by the herbalists and even in the *Dispensatory* as a useful constituent of many proprietary laxatives, and as a demulcent and emollient.<sup>6</sup> As long ago as the time of Hezekiah it was used as a remedy for boils.<sup>7</sup>

### 13. *Qisṭ of honey*.<sup>8</sup>

امر حيان	Order of Ḥayyān
بن شريح	b. Shurayḥ:
قسط	<i>qisṭ</i>
العسل	of <i>al-‘asal</i> ,
ف....	[full] measure.

Green, 40 × 37.

ANS 54.159

PLATE I

Honey, Arabic *‘asal*,<sup>9</sup> is new to our list of glass pharmaceutical measure stamps. That it had a legitimate place in the old *materia medica* is testified to by its mention by Dioscorides as a remedy for ulcers, pain in the nose and ears, inflammation of the throat, tonsils, etc.; it also was

<sup>4</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. I, 183 (Gunther, pp. 90–91).

<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. 23<sup>1</sup>, pp. 326–327, no. 439.

<sup>6</sup> *Dispensatory*, p. 1691; Grieve, I, pp. 311–313; Allport, pp. 115, 228; Lloyd, p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> Isaiah, XXXVIII, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Listed in Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ, p. 152, no. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Lane, I, p. 2046.



reputed to kill lice;<sup>10</sup> and Ibn al-Bayṭār lists other ailments for which honey was alleged to be useful, e.g., facial tics and, when mixed with vinegar, tooth decay.<sup>11</sup> Although these properties are no longer recognized, it is of interest to note that honey has its uses in modern pharmacology: it is “often more acceptable to the stomach, especially in ailing persons, than cane sugar,” and it also is employed as a flavoring agent in gargles, as an excipient for preparing pills and masses, and as an ingredient of the formerly official mercury mass, where it served to facilitate the dispersion of metallic mercury.<sup>12</sup>

14. *One-half qisṭ of olive oil.*

امر حيان  
بن شريح  
نصف قسط  
... يت وا  
[ف؟]

Pale green, 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 9.

15. *One-quarter qisṭ of olive oil.*<sup>13</sup>

امر حيان	Order of Ḥayyān
بن شريح ر	b. Shurayḥ: quar-
بع قسط ز:	ter <i>qisṭ</i> of olive
ت واف	oil, full measure.

Green, 34 × 33.  
ANS 54.161

PLATE I

Variant of *EAG*, 10, and *University College*, 92.

<sup>10</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. II, 101 (Gunther, pp. 124–125).

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. 25<sup>1</sup>, pp. 445–447, no. 1542.

<sup>12</sup> *Dispensatory*, pp. 653–654; cf. Allport, pp. 104, 199, for other uses.

<sup>13</sup> Listed in Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ, p. 152, no. 9.

16. *One-quarter qist of ointment.*

امر حيان  
بن شريح  
ربع قسط  
.. لطلا وا  
ف

Order of Ḥayyān  
b. Shurayḥ:  
quarter *qist*  
of [a]l-ṭilā', full  
measure.

Green, 32.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Unpublished, but for *al-ṭilā'*, "ointment," cf. *EAG*, pp. 28, 72, and *EAG Suppl.*, p. 49.

17. *Uncertain measure.*

امر حيان  
بن شريح  
ر هر للا...  
واف

Order of Ḥayyān  
b. Shurayḥ:  
.....  
full measure.

Green, 24.  
ANS 53.123

PLATE I

Unpublished. The third line appears to be quite legible, but unfortunately I can make nothing of it. The tail of the *fā'* in the last line turns back to the right.

*D. The Caliph Yazīd II*

101–105 A.H.: 720–724 A.D.

## VESSEL STAMPS

18. *Qist.*

.....  
عبد ال...  
يزيد....  
قسط واف

.....  
The Servant of God,  
Yazīd.....:  
*qist*, full measure.

2 Miles

Green, 26 × 22 (fragmentary).

ANS 54.164

The reading is by no means certain.

19.–22. *One-quarter qisṭ of olive oil.*<sup>14</sup>

امر عبد الله	Order of the Servant of God,
يزيد امير المؤ	Yazīd, Commander of the Faith-
منين ربع قسط	ful: quarter <i>qisṭ</i>
زيت واف على	of olive oil, full measure, at
يدي حبان بن	the hands of Ḥayyān b.
يح . . . .	[Shur]ayḥ.

19. Pale green, 35 × 40.

ANS 54.14

20. Green, 43 × 40 (chipped at bottom).

ANS 54.159

21. Pale green, 37 × 36 (chipped at top).

ANS 54.161

22. Green, 39.

ANS 56.8

PLATE I

The transcription is composite: the legend is not completely preserved on any one specimen.

Cf. *EAG Suppl.*, 7, where Ḥayyān's name is lacking (off the stamp), but probably the same as these; also *University College*, 86, also lacking Ḥayyān's name. In all cases the die is actually too large for the glass stamp, and hence Ḥayyān's name is never completely preserved. These pieces are important in that they clearly establish the identity of Yazīd as being Yazīd II.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Three of these specimens are listed in *Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ*, p. 151, nos. 4–6.

<sup>15</sup> See the discussion in *EAG Suppl.*, p. 8.

## E. 'Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb

Finance Director, 102–106 A.H.: 720–734 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

23. *One-half dīnār.*

بسم الله  
 مما امر به عبيد  
 الله بن الحبحاب  
 ب ميزان نصف  
 وافي \*

In the name of Allāh:  
 among those things ordered by 'Ubayd-  
 ullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb:  
 b: weight of a half,  
 full weight.

Pale blue-green, 22; 2.11.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Unpublished, but cf. Bergmann, *Nominale*, p. 262, referring  
 to Castiglioni (with مثقال نصف وافي).

24. *Fals of 34 qīrāt.*

بسم الله  
 امر عبيد الله  
 بن الحبحاب \*  
 بمثقال فلس وزن (٣٤)  
 اربعة وثلاثين  
 قيراط وافي  
 ف \*

In the name of Allāh:  
 ordered 'Ubaydullāh  
 b. al-Ḥabḥāb:  
 weight of *fals*, weight  
 thirty-four  
*qīrāt*, full wei-  
 ght.

Green, 33; 6.56.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Unpublished. This weight of 34 *qīrāt* (a new one),<sup>16</sup> agrees  
 quite well with the theoretical weight (6.888 grams) set forth  
 in the table, *EAG*, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> M. Marcel Jungfleisch wrote me in 1952 that he had a weight of 34 *qīrāt* of 'Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb (probably similar to this), weighing 6.53 grams.

25. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله  
 امر عيدا  
 لله بن الجهاب  
 بمقال فلس  
 اربعة وعشرين  
 خروبة وا  
 ف

In the name of Allāh:  
 ordered ‘Ubaydu-  
 llāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb:  
 weight of *fals*  
 of twenty-four  
*kharrūbah*, full wei-  
 ght.

Green, 31; 4.67.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Cf. *Cairo*, 45–47, with ✱ at the left of the fourth line.

26. *Fals of 20 qirāt.*

بسم الله  
 امر عيدا  
 لله ابن الجهاب  
 بمقال فلس عشر  
 بن قيرط

In the name of Allāh:  
 order of ‘Ubaydu-  
 llāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb:  
 weight of *fals* of twen-  
 ty *qirāt*.

Green, 28; 3.95.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Similar to *Cairo*, 49; cf. *EAG*, 12, with a different arrangement of the lines.

27. *Fals of 20 qirāt.*

بسم الله  
 امر عيدا  
 بن الجهاب  
 بمقال فلس  
 عشرين قيرط

Dark emerald green (unusual color), 28; 4.00.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Cf. *EAG*, 12, with ابن and with قيرط of ط on a separate line.

28. (*Fals of 19 qīrāt?*).

عبد	‘Ubayd-
الله بن	ullāh b.
الحجاب	al-Ḥabḥāb.

Green, 25; 3.78.

ANS 56.163

PLATE II

Unpublished. This is a curious piece, bearing no executive phrase or denomination. It is of irregular shape and thickness. If it is a systematic coin weight it would approximate that of 19 *qīrāt*.

29. *Fals of 18 kharrūbah.*

ما امر [به]	Among those things ordered by
عبد الله ابن ا	‘Ubaydullāh ibn a-
الحجاب مثقال فلس	l-Ḥabḥāb: weight of <i>fals</i>
ثمانية عشر	of eighteen
خروبة	<i>kharrūbah</i> .

Green, 26; 3.67 (broken, mended, nearly complete).

ANS 53.123

PLATE II

Similar to *Cairo*, 54–56; cf. *University College*, 100–101, with ا between ثمانية and عشر.<sup>17</sup>

30. *One-half fals of 15 qīrāt.*

بسم الله  
امر عبد الله  
بن الحجاب مثقال  
ل نصف فلس  
خمس عشر  
قيراط وا  
ف

<sup>17</sup> This is not necessarily an error: cf. Grohmann, *Papyruskunde*, p. 105, for the spelling اعشر in papyri.



Green, 26; 2.93.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 14, where the final ف is not clear; and to *Cairo*, 57, with error in transcription.

31. "Part" of 12 *kharrūbah*.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله  
بن الجحّاب مثقال  
شطر اثني عشر  
ة خروبة و  
اف

Green, 24; 2.27.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Similar to *EAG*, 15–16, where واف was misread as وزن (?); also *University College*, 102. In *EAG*, pp. 27 and 76, I read the word preceding the denomination as *saṭr*, "row, series"; I now propose as much more probable *shaṭr*, "half" or "part".<sup>18</sup>

DISK-WEIGHT

32. *Wuqīyah*.

..... بسم	In the name of .....
..... امر عب	ordered 'Ub.....
..... بن الجب	b. al-Ḥab.....
..... يصنعه و	the making of it: <i>wu</i> ...
..... بوروا	— — —, full.....

Green, 54 × 28 + (somewhat more than one half of weight preserved);  
16.02 +.  
ANS 54.14

PLATE II

Unpublished. I assume that the fourth line is to be completed, *wuqīyah*; the meaning of ور (if indeed the word begins on this last line) escapes me. Probably وافية follows.

<sup>18</sup> Lane, I, p. 1551.

There are two other published disk-weights of ‘Ubaydullāh’s: *EAG*, 24, a possible *ratl*; and *EAG Suppl.*, p. 7 (Mabbott Collection), a possible half-*ratl*.

## VESSEL STAMPS

33. *Qist*.

مما امر  
به عبيد الله  
ابن الحباب  
قسط وا  
ف

Among those things ordered  
by ‘Ubaydullāh  
ibn al-Ḥabḥāb:  
*qist*, full  
measure.

Green, 38.

ANS 54.14

PLATE II

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 103, and Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, p. 15, except that both these have بن, not ابن.

34. *Qist*.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله ...  
الحباب قد ...  
ف ...

In the name of Allāh:  
order of ‘Ubaydullāh...  
al-Ḥabḥāb: *qis*[t],  
[full] measure.

Green, 33 × 30.

ANS 54.159

Unpublished.

35. *Qist of olive oil*.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله  
... الحباب قسط  
... يت وا  
ف

In the name of Allāh:  
order of ‘Ubaydullāh  
... al-Ḥabḥāb: *qist*  
of [o]live oil, full  
measure.

Green, 34.

ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Similar to *University College*, 107; cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 108, where the disposition of lines is not indicated.

36. *One-half qist*.

مما امر به  
عبيد الله ا  
... الجحباب  
... نصف قس

Green, 35 × 32.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 18; and cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 104–105, where the disposition of lines is not indicated.

37. *One-half qist*. III A.H.: 729/30 A.D.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله  
... بن الجحباب بـ (sic)  
قسط واف ... ي  
يدي جنادة بن ...  
ميسرة سنة ...  
حدى عشرة ...

In the name of Allāh:  
ordered ‘Ubaydullā..  
b. al-Ḥabḥāb the mak[ing of it]:  
*qist*, full measure; at  
the hands of Junādah b. ...  
Maysarah, year [el]-  
even .....

Green, 49.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Unpublished. This stamp is important in that the first name of the prefect is well preserved, and we are now able to correct the reading of some other pieces issued by the same man. A re-examination of *EAG*, 19, a quarter *qist*, tentatively read “Khurrah,” reveals that the name there also is Junādah; so also, *BM*, p. 108, no. 392 (= Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 1), also a quarter *qist*, and *Cairo*, 43, with the first name unread. See also no. 44, below, a measure of cumin,

withouth the father's name. Were perhaps 'Isâ and 'Umar (*EAG*, 208–210) sons of this man? I have not been able to identify the person in the chronicles.

38.–41. *One-quarter qist*.

مما امر  
به عبيد الله  
بن الجباب ربع  
قسط وا  
ف

38. Green, 36 × 34.

ANS 54.159

PLATE II

39. Green, 32 × 29.

ANS 54.159

40. Green, 31.

ANS 54.161

41. Green, 33.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 20.

42.–43. *One-quarter qist of olive oil*.

بسم الله  
... مر عبيدا  
... بن الجباب  
... ربع قسط  
... يت و  
...

42. Green, 31.

ANS 56.8

43. Green, 36 × 31.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 21, *EAG Suppl.*, 4, *Cairo*, 31–38, etc.

44. *Measure of white cumin.* 111 A.H.: 729/30 A.D.

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر بصنعه	ordered the making of it,
مكيلة الكمون ا	measure of <i>kammūn</i> , wh-
.. بض عبيد الله بن	ite, ‘Ubaydullāh b.
.. حجاب على يدى	[al]-Ḥabḥāb, at the hands of
.. نادة سنة احدى	[Ju]nādah, year el-
عشرة ومئة ...	even and one hundred...
....	.....

Green, 41 × 36.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Unpublished. For the name of the prefect see no.37, above. White cumin and its medicinal properties are discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 15–16.

45. *Executive stamp.*

... يد	['U]baydu-
.. له بن	l]lāh b.
الحجاب	al-Ḥabḥāb.

Green, 32.  
ANS 54.14

Unpublished. The letters are exceptionally large and crude, and the father's name is written in semi-cursive fashion.

*F. Ḥaḥṣ b. al-Walīd*

Governor, 108 A.H. (part): 727 A.D.

Governor, 124–127 A.H.: 742–744 A.D.

Finance Director, 124–125 A.H.: 742–743 A.D.

Governor, 127–128 A.H.: 745–746 A.D.

VESSEL STAMPS

46. *One-quarter qist.*

بسم الله  
.. مر الامير  
.. فص بن الوليد  
بصنه ربع  
قسط واف

In the name of Allāh:  
[or]dered the amīr  
[Ḥa]ḥṣ b. al-Walīd  
the making of it: one-quarter  
*qist*, full measure.

Green, 42.

ANS 56.8

PLATE III

Similar to *Cairo*, 103 (errors in transcription).

47. *Measure of pure lupine.*

بسم الله امر  
الله بالوفا وا  
مر الامير حفص بن  
.. وليد بصنه  
مكيلة وافية  
للترمس (sic)  
نقيس

In the name of Allāh: commanded  
Allāh honesty; and or-  
dered the amīr Ḥaḥṣ b.  
[al]-Walīd the making of it,  
measure, full measure,  
for *al-turmus*,  
pure.

Green, 40 × 37.

ANS 54.15

Unpublished. For *turmus*, “lupine,” and its medicinal properties, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 14–15.

G. Al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh

Finance Director, 116-124 A.H.: 734-742 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

48. *Fals of 33 (?) qīrāt.*

بسم الله امر	In the name of Allāh: order of
.. مير القاسم	[the] amīr al-Qāsim
بن عبيد الله	b. 'Ubaydullāh:
ميزان فلس [ثلاث و؟]	weight of <i>fals</i> [of three and ?]
ثلاثين (؟) قيراط	thirty (?) <i>qīrāt</i> ,
وا (؟) ف	full weight (?).

Green, 27; 6.03.

ANS 54.164

PLATE III

Unpublished. This weight is crudely inscribed and atypical. If the legend actually reads "33", the weight is light.

49.-50. *Fals al-kabīr of 30 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله  
 مما امر به ا  
 لقاسم بن عبيد  
 الله مثقال فلس (sic)  
 الكبير ثلاثين خر  
 وبه ان  
 ف

49. Green, 33; 5.87.

ANS 56.8

50. Pale blue-green, 33, frg. (1/2).

ANS 55.141

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 8, and *Cairo*, 96-98, where the error in the spelling of the word *fals* is not noted. The curious spelling of the last word is discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, p. 9. I now agree with John Walker (NC 1951, p. 149) that it is more probably a misspelling of *wāfi* than of *wazn*.

51. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.* 119 A.H.: 737 A.D.

بسم الله  
مرالله بالوفا  
وامر بصنعه  
مثقال فلس ثلثين  
خروبة القاسم  
بن عبيد الله على يدى  
مسلم بن العا  
ف سنة تسع  
عشرة وما  
ئة

Green, 34; 5.86.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 30, and *Cairo*, 95, where the date is read 117 or 119. There can be no doubt that the digit here is “nine”, as it is on other specimens that I have seen. As for the name of the prefect we again have a clear instance of the spelling of the father’s name as al-‘Āf, not al-‘Arrāf, discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 11–12. Giorgio Levi Della Vida has pointed out to me in correspondence that there could be no such name as ‘*Arāf*, and that ‘*Arrāf* is possible but still unlikely. On nos. 53, 56–57, 61 and 66, below, the name is clearly *المراف*. This prefect’s name still remains a puzzle.

52. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله  
مما امر به ا  
لقاسم بن ن  
عبيد الله مثقا  
ل فلس اربعة  
وعشرين خرو  
بة واف

Green, 31; 4.63.  
ANS 54.168

Unpublished.

In the name of Allāh:  
among those things ordered by a-  
l-Qāsim b.  
‘Ubaydullāh: weigh-  
t of *fals* of four  
and twenty *kharrūbah*, full weight.

PLATE III



## RING-WEIGHTS

53. *Raṭl*. 119 A.H.: 737 A.D.

... سم الله ا	[In] the name of Allāh:
.. ر الله بالو	[command]ed Allāh hon-
.. ا وامر بصنعة	esty; and ordered the making
هذا الرطل القا	of this <i>raṭl</i> al-Qā-
سم بن عبيد الله	sim b. ‘Ubaydullāh,
على يدى مسلم ...	at the hands of Muslim [b. a]-
لعراف سنة	l-‘Arrāf, year
تسم عش ...	nineteen[n]
ومئة	and one hundred.

Green, piece of top only, 59×48; height, 16+; chipped.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE III

Unpublished. Cf. Jungfleisch, *Ratls discoïdes*, p. 64, a disk-weight with an almost identical legend, but هذا on line 3. Cf. no. 51, above, for the name of the prefect.

54. *Raṭl of meat* (?). 123 A.H.: 740/1 A.D.

... م الله ا	[In the n]ame of Allāh: com-
... ه بالوفا	[mand]ed Allā]h honesty;
... بصنعه ر	[and ordered] the making if it, <i>r-</i>
... اللحم (؟) القا (؟)	[aṭl] of meat (?), al-Qā-
... بن عبيد الله على	[sim] b. ‘Ubaydullāh, at
... يزيد بن ابى يزيد	[the hands of] Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd,
... نة ثلث و	[yea]r three and
... شرين و	[tw]enty and
مئة	one hundred.

Green, part of top only, 55+×58; height, 40+; 197.34+.  
ANS 51.119

PLATE III

Unpublished. Although the weight is fragmentary and unclear in several respects, it is important in that it definitely

places Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd in office as prefect in the year 123 A.H. There are other ring-weights for meat issued in the year 123 (?), with the names of two other (uncertain) prefects: cf. *EAG*, 34, and *EAG Suppl.*, 9, and the discussions of the names, pp. 89 and pp. 10–11, respectively.

## VESSEL STAMPS

55. *Qist* (?).

بسم الله  
امر القاسم  
بن عبيد الله  
قسطان  
واف

In the name of Allāh:  
order of al-Qās[im]  
b. ‘Ubaydullāh:  
*qist*,  
full weight.

Green, 39 × 31, frgs. lacking.  
ANS 54.164

PLATE III

Unpublished. This stamp, and no. 60, below, are very puzzling. One would be tempted to read قسطان, “two *qists*,” were it not for two considerations. The first is that no. 60 is a quarter, and “a quarter of two *qists*” would be a very perverse way of designating a measure; and secondly the present piece has a pellet above  $\cup$ , which suggests that the element is not a letter but an ornament. Also the same element on no. 60 may perhaps have a star above it. If what appears to be a *nūn* is an ornament, we would then have قسطا, which might be an early variant of *qist* (a borrowing from Greek). See the remarks under no. 60.

56.–57. *Qist*. 119 A.H.: 737 A.D.

بسم الله ا  
مرالله بالوفا  
وامر بصنعة  
هذا القسط

.. لقاسم بن عبيد  
 .. لله على يدى مسلم  
 بن العراف سنة  
 تسع عشرة و  
 مائة

56. Dark green,  $43 \times 38$ , chipped at bottom.  
 ANS 54.161

PLATE III

57. Green,  $43 \times 40$ .  
 ANS 56.8

The transcription above is composite, ANS 56.8 being the less completely preserved. Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 10, with possible minor differences in the arrangement of the lines; also *Cairo*, 73–75, where the date is given as 117 or 119.

58. *One-half qist*. 122 A.H.: 739/40 A.D.

.....  
 امر الله بالو  
 فا و امر بصنعه  
 نصف قسط القا  
 سم بن عبيد الله  
 على يدى صفار بن  
 شبة سنة ا  
 تين وعشرين  
 ومائة

.....  
 Commanded Allāh hon-  
 esty; and ordered the making of it,  
 one-half *qist*, al-Qā-  
 sim b. ‘Ubaydullāh,  
 at the hands of Ṣaffār b.  
 Shabbah, year t-  
 wo and twenty  
 and one hundred.

Green,  $42 \times 36$ .  
 ANS 54.159

PLATE III

Similar to *University College*, 120. This prefect's name also occurs on *EAG*, 36, *EAG Suppl.*, 12, *University College*, 109 and 127, and others (see below). For my attempts to read the name see *EAG*, p. 87, and *EAG Suppl.*, p. 12. It will be noted that I now retain the suggested name for the father, Shabbah, but that I now newly propose Ṣaffār for the pre-

fect's own name. The letters of the name on the present specimen are quite distinct, but there is of course a choice of consonants.<sup>19</sup> Cf. no. 62, below.

59. *One-half qist*.

بسم الله  
امر القاسم  
بن عبيد الله  
نصف قسط  
واف

In the name of Allāh:  
order of al-Qāsim  
b. 'Ubaydullāh:  
one-half *qist*,  
full measure.

Green, 40 × 34.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE IV

Similar to *University College*, 124.

60. *One-quarter qist (?)*.

بسم الله  
امر القاسم بن  
عبيد الله ربع  
قسطاً \* (؟)  
وف ..

In the name of Allāh:  
order of al-Qāsim b.  
'Ubaydullāh: one-quarter  
*qist* (?),  
full measure.

Green, 31.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IV

Cf. no. 55, above. Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 123–127, and *Cairo*, 60–64. Casanova found the legend “inexplicable, si l'on n'y voit une alteration assez étrange d'ailleurs de *قسط واف*,” and Mme Launois thinks “qu'il faut lire *مسطار*, moût,” which is hardly likely. The last line on the published specimens, as well as on others which I have seen, is always *واف* instead of *واف*.

<sup>19</sup> Mme Launois (*Cairo*, 79–81) reads *صفار بن سيف*.

61. *One-quarter qist*. 11[9] A.H.: 737 A.D.

بسم الله ا  
 مرا الله بالوفا  
 و امر بصنعه ر  
 بع قسط القا  
 .. لم (sic) بن عبيد الله  
 على يدى مسلم  
 بن العراف سنة  
 .. سم عشرة و ..  
 ...

Yellowish green, 37 × 33.  
 ANS 56.8

Similar to *Cairo*, 69–72, where the name of al-Qāsim is normally written (according to the transcription); cf. *EAG Suppl.*, 11, with a slightly different alignment, and *University College*, 122 (incomplete).

62. *One-quarter qist*. 122 A.H.: 739/40 A.D.

بسم الله  
 .. مر الله با  
 .. و امر  
 بصنعه ربع  
 .. سم بن عب ...  
 .. لله على يدى صف ...  
 .. بن شبة سنة ..  
 .. بن وعشرين و  
 مائة

Green, 39 × 37.  
 ANS 54.159

Similar to *EAG*, 36, *EAG Suppl.*, 12, *University College*, 127, and *Cairo*, 79–81. For the name of the prefect, see no. 58, above.

63.-64. *Measure of jujube.* 122 A.H.: 739/40 A.D.

بسم الله امر	In the name of Allāh: order
.. لقاسم بن عبيد	of [a]l-Qāsim b. 'Ubayd-
الله مكيمة نبق	ullāh: measure of <i>nabq</i> ,
واف على يدى ٥	full measure, at the hands of
صفار بن شبة سنة	Ṣaffār b. Shabbah, year
اثنين وعشرين	twenty-two
✱ ومئة	and one hundred.

63. Yellowish green, 51.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IV

64. Brownish green, 47 × 43.  
ANS 54.159

The date is not completely preserved on no. 64.

Unpublished. The name of the medicinal *nabq*<sup>20</sup> is here encountered for the first time on a vessel stamp. The word is variously defined as *Rhamnus nabeca* Forsk., *Zizyphus lotus* (*Rhamnus lotus*), *Zizyphus sativus* (*Rhamnus zizyphus*), or *Zizyphus Spina Christi* (*Rhamnus Spina Christi*), and is identified with the popular names "wild jujube," "lotus jujube," "Christ's thorn," etc.<sup>21</sup> The lotus (or *Zizyphus lotus*) is sometimes held to be the Homeric plant which yielded the fruit of the Lotophagi; and Arabic philologists generally consider *nabq* as synonymous with *sidr*, which in turn is associated with the *sidrat al-muntahā*, "the lote-tree in the Seventh Heaven, beyond which neither angel nor prophet passes, and which shades the water and Paradise."<sup>22</sup> But

<sup>20</sup> Also *nabaq*, *nabiq*, *nibq*. See *Muḥīt*, II, p. 2035; *Lisān*, XII, p. 227; Freytag, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplement*, II, p. 637.

<sup>21</sup> Issa Bey, pp. 155, 192; Bedevian, nos. 3651-3653; Sharaf, s.v. *sidr*; Schweinfurth, p. 71; Muschler, p. 617; *Webster's New International Dictionary* (2nd ed.), s.v. *Zizyphus*, *lotus*, *jujube*; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), s.v. *lotus*.

<sup>22</sup> Lane, I, p. 1331. See Qur'ān LIII:14, LVI:28. Cf. G. Lechler, "The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), p. 369, where the name of the tree is inexplicably spelled *sidra*.

there is some question about this connection. At all events *nabq* (or *sidr*) was recognized by Arab pharmacological writers as having various medicinal properties: it was taken both fresh and dried, was good for the stomach, "evacuating the bile in the stomach and intestines," was antiphlogistic, and "sweetened the mouth."<sup>23</sup> Similar and other properties in at least one race of the species were enumerated by Dioscorides: a beverage made from the seed relieved coughs, dissolved stones in the bladder, counteracted poisonous bites of snakes and wild animals.<sup>24</sup> So also modern herbalists recognize jujube berries (whether *Zizyphus vulgaris* or similar species such as *Z. lotos*, *Z. sativa*, *Z. jujuba*, etc.) as a nutritive and demulcent pectoral fruit.<sup>25</sup>

65. *Measure (?) of pure . . . . . (?)*.

بسم الله امر  
.. لقاسم بن عبيد  
الله بصنعه م(؟) . . .  
نقيس على يدي يز  
يد بن ابى يزيد

In the name of Allāh: ordered  
[a]l-Qāsim b. 'Ubayd-  
ullāh the making of it: m[easure] . . .  
pure; at the hands of Yaz-  
id b. abi-Yazīd.

Green, 27.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IV

Unpublished. The legend is puzzling in that to judge by the length of the complete lines there is very little space at the end of the third line for the completion of the word *mikyalah* (?) and for the name of the substance or seed qualified by the word *naḥīs*, "pure," which begins the fourth line. For other instances of the occurrence of the name Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd in conjunction with that of al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh, see *University College*, 121, *Fouquet Collection*, 128-129, *Grohmann*, 3, and *Cairo*, 83-84.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, no. 1165, and XXVI<sup>1</sup>, no. 2212.

<sup>24</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. I, 121 (p. 65).

<sup>25</sup> Grieve, II, p. 451.

66. *Measure of pure* .....(?). 121 A.H.: 738/9 A.D.

بسم الله  
 مما امر به الا  
 مير القاسم بن  
 عبيد الله مكيلا  
 .. سعاره (?) نقيس و  
 .. على يدى مسلم بن  
 العراف سنة ا  
 حدى وعشرين و  
 مائة

In the name of Allāh:  
 among those things ordered by the a-  
 mīr al-Qāsim b.  
 ‘Ubaydullāh: measure  
 of ....., pure, ..  
 ..., at the hands of Muslim b.  
 al-‘Arrāf, year o-  
 ne and twenty and  
 one hundred.

Brownish green, 47 × 46.  
 ANS 54.159.

PLATE IV

Unpublished. It is a pity that I cannot read the first part of the fifth line, for this stamp would seem to be for a hitherto unrecorded seed or substance. The first part of the preserved letters in that line may be a *sīn* or *shīn*, but this is by no means certain, and the letter following is indistinct and might be one of eight or ten different letters. In the circumstances I have had to abandon attempts to read the word, and we can only hope for the discovery of another and clearer specimen.

For Muslim b. al-‘Arrāf see no. 51, above. The date, 121 A.H., occurs on other stamps of this prefect's: cf. *Cairo*, nos. 92–93.

*H. Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd*

Prefect, ca. 116–127 A.H.: 734–745 A.D.

Finance Director (?), ca. 127 A.H.: 745 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHT

67. *One-third dīnār.*

امر يزيد بن  
 ابى يزيد \* مثقا  
 ل ثلث واف

Ordered Yazīd b.  
 abi-Yazīd \* weigh-  
 t of one-third, full weight.



Green, 19; 1.42.

ANS 53.49

Similar to *University College*, 131; *Cairo*, 126–127.

## VESSEL STAMPS

68.–69. *Qist of olive oil.*

امر يزید

Order of Yazīd

بن ابی يزید

b. abi-Yazīd:

قسط زيت و

*qist* of olive oil, full

اف

measure.

68. Green, 37 × 33.

ANS 54.175

PLATE IV

69. Green, 34.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *University College*, 93.

70. *One-half qist of olive oil.*

امر يزید

Order of Yazīd

بن ابی يزید نصف

b. abi-Yazīd: one-half

قسط زيت

*qist* of olive oil,

واف

full measure.

Green, 35.

ANS 55.141

PLATE IV

Probably similar to *Cairo*, 119, where بن is transcribed in brackets on the first line.

71. *One-quarter qist.*

مر يزید

[Or]der of Yazīd

ابی يزید ر

[b.] abi-Yazīd:

مع قسط

one-quar[ter] *qist*,

واف

full measure.

Green, 30.

ANS 55.86

PLATE IV

Unpublished.

72.-73. *One-quarter qist of olive oil.*

امر يزيد  
بن ابى يزيد ر  
بم قسط ز  
يت واف

72. Green, 34 × 31.  
ANS 54.161

PLATE IV

73. Green, 35 (fragmentary).  
ANS 55.86

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 14; *Cairo*, 116-118. The legend of no. 73 is only partially preserved.

74.-75. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
يزيد بن ا  
يزيد...

74. Green, 24 × 21.  
ANS 54.159

75. Green, 27 × 22.  
ANS 54.159

Cf. *EAG*, 48, with star beneath; *EAG*, 47, *University College*, 132, and *Cairo*, 120-125, with different alignment; and *Fouquet Collection*, 175-182, where the alignment is not indicated.

*I. 'Isā b. abi-'Aṭā*

Finance Director, 125-127 A.H.: 743-745 A.D.  
128-131 A.H.: 745-749 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

76. *One-half dīnār.*

بسم الله  
عيسى بن ابى (sic?)  
بصنعه مثقفا

ل نصف على  
 . . يزيد بن ا  
 يد . . .

Green, 22; 2.11.  
 ANS 56.8

The legend is abbreviated and in part garbled. Similar to *EAG*, 40, and *Fouquet Collection*, 24 (similar style); cf. *Cairo*, 114, and *BM*, 6d (different and not "barbaric").

77. *One-third dīnār.*

بسم الله  
 امر الله بالو  
 فا وامر عيسى بن  
 ابي عطا [بصنعه؟]  
 مثقال ثلث د  
 ينر واف (؟)

Green, 20; 1.40.  
 ANS 53.123

In the name of Allāh:  
 commanded Allāh hon-  
 esty; and ordered 'Isā b.  
 abi-'Aṭā [the making of it]:  
 weight of one-third *d-*  
*īnār*, full weight (?).

PLATE IV

Unpublished. The legend is much abbreviated throughout.

78. *Dirhem.*

بسم الله ا  
 مر الله بالوفا وا  
 مر عيسى بن ابي عطا  
 بصنعه مثقال درهم  
 على يدى يزيد بن ابي  
 يزيدا (sic)

Green, 25; 2.77.  
 ANS 53.50

In the name of Allāh: com-  
 manded Allāh honesty; and or-  
 dered 'Isā b. abi-'Aṭā  
 the making of it: weight of *dirhem*,  
 at the hands of Yazīd b. abi-  
 Yazīd.

PLATE IV

Similar to *University College*, 133; cf. *BM*, 6, which lacks the ا at the end of the last line.

## DISK-WEIGHT

79. *One-quarter ratl*.

Principal stamp:

..... } Probably .....  
 ..... } two lines .....[hon]-  
 .. فا وامر عيسى esty; and ordered 'Isâ [b.]  
 ابى عطا بصنعه abi-'Aṭā the making of it: [quar]-  
 بع رطل واف ter *ratl*, full weight.

Edge of a small secondary stamp (diameter about 16) at lower left.

Green, 63+, fragmentary (about 1/2 lacking); 40.10+.  
 ANS 51.119

PLATE V

Unpublished.

## RING-WEIGHT

80. *One-half (ratl) of meat*.

Stamp A (at right):    بسم الله ا    In the name of Allāh: com-  
                                   مرالله بالو    manded Allāh hon-  
                                   .. وامر عيسى    [esty]; and ordered 'Isâ  
                                   ... عطا نصف    [b. abi]-'Aṭā: one-half  
                                   ... اللحم    [*ratl*] of meat.

Stamp B (at left):    على يدى    Cf. nos. 74-75.  
                                   يزيد بن ا  
                                   بى يزيد

Green, part of top and one side; 60 × 44 × 39+; stamp A: 33, stamp B:  
 21; 104.90+.  
 ANS 54.164

PLATE V

Perhaps similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 13, which lacks the indication of weight; cf. *University College*, 194, probably 'Isâ with Yazîd, a one-half *ratl*, but not of meat.

## VESSEL STAMPS

81.-82. *One-half qist*.

.. بسم الا	In the name of Allā[h]:
.. مر الامير	[or]dered the amīr
.. سي بن ابي عط	[I]sâ b. abi-‘Aṭ[ā]
.. نعه نصف	[the ma]king of it, one-half
.. سط وا (٩)	[qī]st, full [measure].

81. Green, 33 × 30.  
ANS 56.8

82. Green, 43 × 36.  
ANS 56.8

The above transcriptions are composite; both specimens are very fragmentary and uncertain. Probably similar to *BM*, 394 (p. 109), where the first line is omitted in the transcription but is visible in the plate.

83. *One-quarter qist*.

... سم الله  
.. مر الامير  
.. سي بن ابي عطا  
... مه ربع قسط  
واف

Green, 40 × 38.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 42, and to *Cairo*, 106-109, where the missing عيسى is not indicated in the transcription; probably similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 134-135, alignment not given; cf. *Cairo*, 113, without الامير and with a different alignment.

84. *Measure* (?).

... م الله	[In the na]me of Allāh:
... ر الله بالوفا	[command]ed Allāh honesty; and
... الامير عيسى	[ordered] the amīr ‘Isā
... طا بضعه	[b. abi-‘A]ṭā the making of it,
... يلة واف	[meas]ure (?), full measure.

Green, 29.

ANS 56.8

Unpublished. The reading [mik]yalah in the last line cannot be considered certain; if it is correctly read it would be the first instance of the word without accompanying seed or substance.

85. *Measure of whey* (?).

... م الا ...	[In the na]me of Allā[h]:
... ر الله بالو	[command]ed Allāh hon-
... و امر الامير	[esty]; and ordered the amīr
... سى بن ابى عط	[‘I]sā b. abi-‘Aṭ[ā]
... بضعه مك	the making of it, mea[sure]
... المش وا	of <i>mishsh</i> (?), full [measure].

Green, 36×31.

ANS 54.159

Unpublished. The word which I tentatively read *al-mishsh* occurs on several other stamps.<sup>26</sup> I suggest with a good deal of reserve that the substance might be “whey,” defined as “sorte de fromage qu’on tire du babeurre et du lait caillé.”<sup>27</sup> In ancient times whey (*Orros Galaktos*) was recognized as a mild purgative,<sup>28</sup> but a major obstacle to the reading is the fact that it is not described under this name in any of the

<sup>26</sup> Nos. 117–119, 273, below, and several others, published and unpublished.

<sup>27</sup> Dozy, *Supplement*, II, p. 593; cf. H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1952), p. 811: “Molke.”

<sup>28</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. II, 76 (Gunther, p. 109).

Arabic *materia medica*, nor do I find it in the classical dictionaries.<sup>29</sup>

86. *Measure of* ..... (?).

بسم الله	In the name of Al[lāh]:
.. من الله بالو	[com]manded Allāh hon-
.. وامر الامير	[es]ty; and ordered the amī[r]
.. سي بن ابي عط	['I]sā b. abi-‘Aṭ[ā]
... مكيه ...	[the mak]ing of it, meas[ure]
.....	.....

Green, 34 × 31.

ANS 54.175

Cf. other undeciphered measures of ‘Isā’s: *Fouquet Collection*, 136; *Cairo*, III–II2.

*J. Yazīd b. Tamīm*

Prefect, ca. 128–132 A.H.: 745–749 A.D.<sup>30</sup>

VESSEL STAMPS

87. *Measure of lupine.*

مكيه	Measure
ترمس على	of <i>turmus</i> , at
يدي يز	the hands of Yaz-
يد	id
بن تميم	b. Tamīm.
✕	

Green, 41.

ANS 56.8

PLATE V

Unpublished. For *turmus*, “lupine,” and its pharmaceutical uses, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>29</sup> In Mohammad Sharaf “whey” is defined as *māh al-jubn*, *maṣl*, *maṣālāh*, *muḍārat al-laban*, etc., but *mishsh* does not appear.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *EAG*, p. 96.

88. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
يزيد بن  
تميم

Green, 29.  
ANS 56.8

At the hands  
of Yazīd b.  
Tamīm.

PLATE V

Similar to *Cairo*, 141–142; probably similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 190, where the alignment is not indicated.

*K. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān*

Finance Director, 131–132 A.H.: 749 A.D.

Governor, 132–133 A.H.: 750 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

89. *Dirhem.*

بسم الله امر  
الامير عبد الملك  
بن مروان بصنعه مث...  
.. درهم واف \*  
.. يدى يزى...  
تميم

Green, 26; 2.58 (frg. lacking).  
ANS 54.168

In the name of Allāh: ordered  
the amīr ‘Abd al-Malik  
b. Ma[rwā]n the making of it: wei[gh]-  
[t] of *dirhem*, full weight,  
[at the] hands of Yazī[d b.]  
Tamīm.

Similar to *Cairo*, 136, except for the star, which appears not to be present there.

90. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله امر  
الامير عبد الملك  
بن مروان اصلحه الله  
بصنعه مثقال فلس  
ثلاثين خروبة واف  
على يدى يزيد بن  
تميم



Green, 34; 5.87.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE V

Similar to *EAG*, 49; *Cairo*, 137–140.

## DISK-WEIGHT

91. *Three wuqīyah: one-quarter raṭl.*

Published in *Museum Notes*, V (1952), pp. 179–180.

## VESSEL STAMPS

92. *One-quarter qisṭ.*

.. سم الله امر  
.. له بالوفا وامر  
.. مير عبد الملك  
.. مرون بصنعه ر  
قسط واف

[In] the name of Allāh: commanded  
[Al]lāh honesty; and ordered  
[the a]mīr ‘Abd al-Malik  
[b.] Marwān the making of it: one-  
quar[ter]  
*qisṭ*, full measure.

Green, 36 × 31.  
ANS 53.50

PLATE V

Unpublished.

93.–94. *Measure of woad-leaves.*

... بسم الله  
.. لله بالوفا وامر  
لامير عبد الملك  
.. مرون بصنعه  
مكيلا للو  
سمة  
وافية

In the name of Allāh: [commanded]  
[A]llāh honesty; and order [ed th]-  
e amīr ‘Abd al-Malik  
[b.] Marwān the making of it:  
measure for *wa-*  
*smah*,  
full measure.

93. Green, 40 × 37.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE V

94. Green, 36.  
ANS 54.199

No. 93 is the better preserved.

Unpublished. For *wasmah* (*wusmah*, *wasimah*), see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 5–6, in connection with a measure of ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb.

95. *Uncertain measure.*

بسم الله . . .  
 الله بالوفا . .  
 . . . لاميير عبد الله . .  
 . . . ون به . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

Green, 29 (frg.).  
 ANS 54.196

## II. 'ABBĀSID OFFICIALS

*A. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl*

Prefect, ca. 132–152 A.H.: 749–769 A.D.

### DISK-WEIGHT

96. *Wuqīyah*.

.....

.....

.....

.....

بن شرحيل

b. Shuraḥbīl,

وقية واف

*wuqīyah*, full weight.

Green, 53 × 28 (about  $\frac{1}{3}$  lacking); thickness, 10; (19.69).

ANS 54.168

PLATE V

Unpublished. For *wuqīyah*, “ounce,” see *EAG*, pp. 17–18; *EAG Suppl.*, 30.

### VESSEL STAMPS

97.–98. *One-half qist*.

بسم الله

In the name of Allāh:

على يدى محمد

at the hands of Muḥammad

(sic) بن شرحيل نصيف

b. Shuraḥbīl, one-half

قسط واف

*qist*, full measure.

97. Green, 41 × 38.

ANS 56.8

98. Green, 40.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 183, where the misseplling of the word for one-half is not noted although it is visible in the plate.

B. ‘*Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd*

Governor and Finance Director

133–136 A.H.: 751–753 A.D.

137–141 A.H.: 755–758 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

99. *Dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر عبد ا  
لملك بن يزيد  
بمثقال دينر  
واف

Reverse area (retrograde):

صنعة  
كبل

Reverse margin (retrograde):

على يدى محمد بن . . . . .

Green, 28; 4.23.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 18; *Cairo*, 167–168. The name in the reverse margin is to be completed to read Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl. As for the name of the artisan who manufactured the weight and whose name appears in the center of the reverse, there is little doubt that he was a Copt named  $\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha$ , Chael, as originally suggested by Grohmann.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *EAG*, p. 106. In addition to the reference given in footnote 21 there, see Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, II (Cairo, 1936), pp. 182–183. Cf. no. 162, below. Other occurrences of his name are *EAG*, 59–60, 62–63, and below, no. 101. In *EAG Suppl.*, p. 48, I stated that I was not satisfied that كبل is a name, but here I was doubtless influenced by the instances where a word with the same spelling occurs in an unmistakably metrological sense (e.g., *EAG*, 124 and 132).

100. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله  
 امر الأمير عبد  
 الملك بن يزيد  
 بمثقال فلس أربعة  
 وعشرين خر  
 وبه \*

Green, 30; 4.68.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 64; *Cairo*, 169–172.101. *Dirhem of 13 kharrūbah.*

Obverse (square imprint):

بسم الله ا  
 مر عبد الملك  
 بن يزيد بمثقا  
 ل درهم و  
 زن ثلاثة (٤) عشر  
 خروبة

In the name of Allāh: or-  
 dered ‘Abd al-Malik  
 b. Yazīd: weigh-  
 t of *dirhem*, wei-  
 ght of thirteen  
*kharrūbah*.

Reverse area (retrograde):

صنعة  
 كبل

Manufacture  
 of Chael.

Reverse margin:

...صم بن حن...

....[‘Ā]ṣim b. Ḥaf[ṣ].

Green, 22; 2.50.

ANS 53.123

PLATE VI

Similar to *BM*, 11, the reverse of which is illustrated but not described; same reverse as *BM*, 10, and *EAG*, 62–63; cf. Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 10.

VESSEL STAMPS

102.–103. *One-quarter qisṭ*.

.. سم الله ام ..  
 .. بد الملك بن يزيد  
 .. صنه ربع قسط  
 واف على يدى محمد  
 بن شرحيل

102. Green, 40 × 38.  
 ANS 56.163

103. Green, 40 × 36 (frg. lacking).  
 ANS 54.15

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 20–21; cf. *Cairo*, 163–166, where the illegible portions are not indicated in the transcription. The above transcription is composite: no. 103 is only partially preserved.

C. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī

Governor, 133 A.H.: 750/1 A.D.

Governor and Finance Director, 136–137 A.H.: 753–755 A.D.

VESSEL STAMPS

104.–105. *One-quarter qisṭ*.

ما امر : ..  
 صلح بن على اصلح ..  
 .. له ب صنه ربع  
 قسط واف

Among those things ordered by  
 Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī (may keep [him] straight  
 [Al]lāh) the making of it: one-quarter  
*qisṭ*, full measure.

104. Green, 47.  
 ANS 56.8

105. Green, 40 × 37.  
 ANS 52.84

Similar to *Cairo*, 158–160; cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 141 (alignment?), and with *al-amīr* (?). The above transcription is composite.

4\*

## D. 'Āṣim b. Ḥaṣṣ

Prefect, ca. 133–141 A.H.: 751–758 A.D.  
 ca. 165–169 A.H.: 781–786 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS<sup>32</sup>106. *Fals* of 36 (*kharrūbah*).

Center:

مثقال  
 فلس  


Around:

على يدى عاصم بن حفص

Semi-cursive characters.

Brownish green, 32; 7.01.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 68; *Cairo*, 237–239. The Coptic notation for 36 (line 3) is discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 31–32; cf. the table in *EAG*, p. 10. The varieties of these Coptic numerals are clearly set forth in A. Mallon's *Grammaire Copte* (Beirut, 1904), p. 220, and it will be noted that the figures for 30 and 6 are exactly as on this and similar weights.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> These weights probably belong to the second term of 'Āṣim's office, but I have placed his pieces here because his first term probably began before al-Manṣūr's Caliphate.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Grohmann, *Papyruskunde*, p. 101; and also V. Garthausen, *Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie in Altertum und im Byzantinischen Mittelalter* (Vol. 2 of *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1913), Taf. 4b and 5, where the Coptic derivation from the Greek is apparent. Fritz Heichelheim ("Zum Weiterleben der griechischen Zahlenbuchstaben," *ZDMG*, Vol. 81, 1927, pp. 78–81) has pointed out that the Copts took over the Greek system almost without change. See also, with respect to these numerals on glass weights, Jungfleisch, *Notations conventionnelles*, pp. 258, 267, 270. I find it difficult to accept the explanation that the symbol for 36 is "l'alef couché voulant dire 'un' et ٣٦ significatif 'complet'"; or perhaps I do not fully understand this argument and some of the other interpretations in this interesting article. See also my remarks under no. 150, p. 59, below.

107. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

Center:

علي  
عاصم  
يدي

At  
‘Āṣim  
the hands of

Around (in form of square):

مقال | فلس | ثلثين | خروبة

Weight | of fals | thirty | *kharrūbah*.

Dark amber, 31; 5.77.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Unpublished. The semi-cursive letters are very similar to those of no. 106, on which ‘Āṣim’s name appears in full. There can be no doubt that this piece also belongs to ‘Āṣim b. Ḥafṣ.

*E. The Caliph al-Manṣūr.*<sup>34</sup>

136–158 A.H.: 754–775 A.D.

*a) The Caliph Alone*

VESSEL STAMPS

108.–110. *One-half raṭl of grease.*

امر عبد . .  
.. لله عبد الله  
مير المومنين (sic)  
بصنعه نصف  
رطل دهن  
واف

108. Green, 41 × 38.

ANS 54.158

PLATE VI

<sup>34</sup> As in *EAG*, the arrangement of pieces issued by the authority of al-Manṣūr is as follows: first, those bearing his name alone; then, those also carrying the name of a subordinate.



109. Green, 34.  
ANS 54.161

110. Green, 35 × 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 56; *Cairo*, 150. The transcription of *EAG*, 56, should be revised to show the error in the spelling of the word المؤمنين.

III. *One-half (?) qist*.

مما امر به  
عبد الله عبد  
الله امير المؤمنين  
اوفوا الكيل ولا تكو  
نوا من المخسرين [نصف؟]  
قسط واف

Green, 41.  
ANS 54.160

Similar to *EAG*, 57, except that the latter is believed to be for a one-third *qist* (see also no. 112, below); and cf. *EAG*, 55, a half *qist*, with a different arrangement of the lines.

112. *One-third (?) qist*.

مما امر به  
عبد الله عبد  
. . . لله امير المؤمنين  
اوفوا الكيل ولا تكو  
. . . من المخسرين [ثلث؟]  
. . . ط واف

Green, 41 × 37.  
ANS 54.160

PLATE VI

Similar to *EAG*, 57, where *لك* is dubious as here.

113.–115. *One-quarter qist*.

مما امر به  
عبد الله عبدا  
له امير المؤمنين . .  
وفوا الكيل ولا تكو  
نوا من الخسرين ربع  
قسط واف

Among those things ordered by  
the Servant of Allāh, ‘Abdu-  
llāh, Commander of the Believers:  
“[Gi]-  
ve just measure, and not b-  
e among the defrauders;” one-quarter  
*qist*, full measure.

113. Green, 39 × 37.  
ANS 56.8

114. Green, 39 × 34.  
ANS 56.8

115. Green, 39.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

The last two lines of no. 115 are uncertain. Similar to *Cairo*, 151–154 where the alignment is not entirely correctly transcribed.

116. *Measure of black cumin*.

... مر عبدا  
.. له عبد الا . .  
... مير المؤمنين . .  
.. صعه (sic) مكي . .  
... كون الا . . .  
د واف

[Order]ed the Servant of A-  
[l]lāh, ‘Abdullā[h],  
[Com]mander of the Believer[s],  
the making of it, measu[re]  
of *kammūn*, bla-  
ck, full measure.

Green, 36.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Unpublished. For “black cumin” and its medicinal properties, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 16–17.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Cf. G. C. Miles, “Cumin and Vinegar for Hiccups,” in *Archaeology*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1951), pp. 23–24.

117.-119. *Measure of whey(?)*.

امر عبد	Ordered the Servant of
.. لله عبد الله	[A]llāh, ‘Abdullāh,
.. مير المؤمنين	[Com]mander of the Believers,
.. صنعه مكبا ..	the making of it, measur[e]
المش و	of <i>mishsh</i> (?), full
اف	measure.

117. Green,  $40 \times 39$ .  
ANS 54.161

PLATE VI

118. Green,  $38 \times 36$ .  
ANS 54.161

119. Dark brownish green, 40.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 151-152. Casanova did not suggest a reading of the word in the next to the last line and simply transcribed the outlines of the letters. See the discussion of *mishsh*, “whey,” under no. 85, above; and cf. nos. 273-274, below.

b) *With ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd*

## COIN WEIGHTS

120.-121. *Dīnār*.

## Obverse:

مما امر به	Among those things ordered by
عبد الله عبد	the Servant of Allāh, ‘Abd-
الله امير المؤ	ullāh, Commander of the Be-
منين مثقال دينر	lievers, weight of <i>dīnār</i> ,
واف	full weight.

## Reverse area:

صنعة	Manufacture
كيل	of Chael.

Reverse margin:

عبد الملك بن يزيد      ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd.

120. Opaque black or very dark brown, 29; 4.22.

ANS 53.49

121. Very dark almost opaque aubergine, 29; 4.18.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Unpublished, but cf. *EAG*, 59 (incomplete), with the word *dīnār* divided between the last two lines. For Chael (Kayl) cf. nos. 99 and 101, above, and nos. 122–123, below.

122. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

مما امر به  
عبد الله عبد  
الله امير المؤمنين  
(sic) مثقالا  
نصف وا  
ف

Among those things ordered by  
the Servant of Allāh, ‘Abd-  
ullāh, Commander of the Be-  
lievers: weight  
of one-half, full  
weight.

Reverse area:

صنعة  
كلي

Manufacture  
of . . . . . ?

Reverse margin:

... ك بن يزيد (?)      [‘Abd al-Mali]k b. Yazīd(?).

Green, 22; 2.09.

ANS 56.163

PLATE VII

Unpublished. *EAG*, 60, also a half *dīnār*, has a different obverse legend, but the reverse appears to be the same as the present, and I believe the transcription “Kayl” on the former should be corrected to read as it does above. But the possibility remains that on these pieces as well as on *Fouquet*

*Collection*, 34, a dirhem with the same reverse legend (read by Casanova “Koublâ”), the name in the center is كبل, bungled.

123. *One-third dīnār* (?).

Obverse:

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
عبد الله	the Servant of Allāh,
... بد الله امير	[‘A]bdullāh, Commander
... مؤمنين	[of the Be]lievers:
(sic) ال لم ...	[weig]ht of (one-third ?),
ف ..	[full] weight.

Reverse area:

صنعة	Manufacture
كبل	of Chael.

Reverse margin: traces.

Dark purple, 19; 1.15+ (about 1/4 missing).  
ANS 50.40

Unpublished. It is probable that the unintelligible word on the fifth line is intended to be كبل, for the piece if complete would weigh in the neighbourhood of 1.43 grams. One cannot be certain that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd was the prefect.

c) *With Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd*

COIN WEIGHTS

124. *Dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر اميرا	order of the Commander of th-
لمؤمنين مثقال	e Believers, weight
دينير واف	of <i>dīnār</i> , full weight.

Reverse area:

مصر

Miṣr

Linear border.

Reverse margin:

بسم الله ع . . . . . بد بن سعيد

In the name of Allāh: a[t the hands of  
Muḥamma]d b. Sa‘īd.

Outer border of dots.

Yellowish green, 29; 4.25.

ANS 53.49

PLATE VII

Unpublished. Cf. *Cairo*, 209, where the reverse is not transcribed but the name in the margin is given in translation. There is no mention of the word in the center, and the piece is not illustrated.

I have decided to assign this weight and nos. 125–126, below, to the Caliph al-Manṣūr rather than to al-Mahdi on the following grounds. There is no name accompanying the title “Commander of the Believers” on the obverse, and the Caliph could therefore be either al-Manṣūr or al-Mahdi. Although it might be argued that the Caliph in question is not al-Manṣūr because he commonly calls himself ‘Abdullāh and precedes his name with the Caliphal epithet, “Servant of Allāh,” so also one could decide against al-Mahdi in view of the fact that al-Mahdi’s stamps usually bear his official name, with or without his personal name Muḥammad. Therefore the argument must rest on the chronology of the accompanying name, Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd, whose dates are uncertain but probably between 152 and 157 A.H.<sup>36</sup>

Maṭar was governor from 157 to 159. In *EAG*, nos. 87–88, I read *Maṭar* in the reverses of somewhat similar pieces, but I believe now that all these should be revised to read *Miṣr*, that is, “Egypt.” In the present piece we have the name of the prefect in the margin, and if the word in the center is to

<sup>36</sup> See *EAG*, p. 118.

be read as a personal name, it should be that of the artisan. Furthermore there is a weight of Nawfal b. Furāt (no. 128, below), whose date is indisputably 141 A.H., with a similar legend in the center of the reverse, and it is most unlikely that Maṭar had been an artisan in 141 and governor 17 years later. Therefore I believe that these weights (nos. 124–126, as well as *EAG*, 87–88) must be placed not later than 157, i.e., within al-Manṣūr's Caliphate.

125. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر اميرا  
لؤمنين مثقال  
نصف واف

In the name of Allāh:  
ordered the Commander of the  
Believers: weight  
of one-half, full weight.

Reverse area:

مصر

Miṣr.

Reverse margin:

بسم . . . . . محمد بن سعيد

In the name of. . . . . Muḥammad  
b. Sa'īd.

Green, 22; 2.12.

ANS 53.123

PLATE VII

Similar to *BM*, 30 (Lane-Poole read مصر in the center, and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd's name is incomplete); and similar to *University College*, 199, assigned to al-Mahdi and misread in several respects.

126. *One-third dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر اميرا  
لؤمنين مثقال  
ثلث واف

Reverse area:

\*  
مصر

Reverse margin:

بسم الله ... يد

Yellowish green, 19; 1.41.

ANS 53.123

PLATE VII

Similar to *EAG*, 88, where the star on the reverse (if any) and Muḥammad's father's name are off the flan.

*F. Mūsā b. Ka'b*

Governor and Finance Director, 141 A.H.: 758/9 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

127. *One-quarter qist of* .....(?).

...م الله ا	[In the na]me of Allāh: or[der of]
...وسى بن كه	[M]ūsā b. Ka'[b]....
...بع [قسط؟]	....[quar]ter [qist?]
...واف على	...., full measure, at [the hands of]
...شر	[Muḥammad b.] Shur[aḥbīl].

Green, 36.

ANS 54.158

Probably similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 143, where the alignment is not indicated.

*G. Nawfal b. Furāt*

Finance Director, 141–143 A.H.: 759–760 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

128. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر نوفل بن فرات	ordered Nawfal b. Furāt
بالوفا مثقال نصف	honesty: weight of one-half
دينر واف	<i>dīnār</i> , full weight.



Reverse area:

مصر

Miṣr

Reverse margin:

على يدى . . . . . صير (?)

At the hands of . . . . . ṣayr (?).

Green, 22; 2.II.

ANS 50.170

PLATE VII

Unpublished. Cf. no. 124, above, for a discussion of the reading of the reverse area legend. As for the fragmentary name of the prefect, there is perhaps a possibility that it might be 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Nuṣayr, of whom we have several weights of 30 *kharrūbah*.<sup>37</sup>

## VESSEL STAMPS

129.-130. *One-quarter qisṭ*.

امر نوفل

Ordered Nawfal

بن فرات

b. Furāt

بصنعه ربع قسط

the making of it, one-quarter *qisṭ*,

واف

full measure.

129. Green, 40 × 36.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VII

130. Green, 38.

ANS 50.40

Unpublished.

*H. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath*

Governor, 141-143 A.H.: 759-760 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHT

131. *One-third dīnār*.

الامير

The amīr

محمد [بن] الا

Muḥammad [b.] al-A-

[شعث؟] متقا

[sh'ath?]: weigh-

ل ثلث واف

t of one-third, full weight.

<sup>37</sup> *EAG*, 114-115; *Cairo*, 359-361; *Fouquet Collection*, 68-69; *University College*, 143; no. 205, below; and several others, unpublished.

Green, 19; 1.42.

ANS 54.184

PLATE VII

Unpublished, if correctly read.

VESSEL STAMPS

132.-133. *One-quarter qist*.

بسم الله  
امر الامير محمد...  
...ن الاشعث بصنعه  
ربع قسط واف  
على يدى عبد الله  
بن راشد

In the name of Allāh:  
ordered the amīr Muḥamma[d]  
b. al-Ash‘ath the making of it,  
one-quarter *qist*, full measure,  
at the hands of ‘Abdullāh  
b. Rāshid.

132. Green, 42.

ANS 56.8

133. Green, 40.

ANS 54.14

These stamps are similar to *EAG*, 75, which was erroneously described as a *qist*. A re-examination of the piece reveals the ‘*ayn* of *rub*’, preceding the word *qist*.

134. *Measure of white sesame-seed*.

...سم الله ام...  
...مير محمد بن...  
...مٹ بصنعه...  
...يلة جلجلان...  
...بيض...  
.....

[In] the name of Allāh: or[dered]  
[the] amīr Muḥammad b.  
[al-Ash]‘ath the making [of it],  
[mea]sure of *juljulān*,  
white.....

Green, 33 × 27+.

ANS 54.168

PLATE VII

This is new, unless *University College*, 158, and *Fouquet Collection*, 144, both of which are obscure in the fifth line and continue with the name of the prefect, are the same. For white sesame-seed, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 17-19.

I. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd<sup>38</sup>

Prefect, ca. 141–152 A.H.: 759–769 A.D.

## DISK-WEIGHT

135. *One-sixth wuqīyah*.

Obverse (square imprint):

سلس  
وقيةOne-sixth  
*wuqīyah*.

Reverse area:

صنعة  
كامل  
•Manufacture  
of Kāmil.

Reverse margin:

على يدى عبد الرحمن بن يزيد

At the hands of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.  
Yazīd.Pale blue-green, 31; 6.23.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VII

Similar to *BM*, 18, which weighs 6.22 grams (96 grains).  
On the *wuqīyah* and its fractions, see *EAG*, pp. 17–18, and  
the references there; also, Grohmann, *Papyruskunde*,  
pp. 147–149; and cf. no. 91, above, for a three-ounce weight.

## VESSEL STAMP

136. *One-half qist*.بسم الله  
على يدى  
عبد الرحمن  
بن يزيد نصف  
قسط وافىIn the name of Allāh:  
at the hands of  
'Abd al-Raḥmān  
b. Yazīd, one-half  
*qist*, full measure.Green, 40.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VII

Similar to *University College*, 187; *Cairo*, 319 (الرحمن)  
transcribed as الرحمان).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *EAG*, p. 111.

137.-139. *One-quarter qist*.

بسم الله  
على يدى  
عبد الرحمن  
بن يزيد ربع  
قسط واف

137. Green, 40.  
ANS 56.8

138. Green, 30.  
ANS 56.8

139. Green, 33 × 27.  
ANS 54.164

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 22; *Cairo*, 320.

*J. Yazīd b. Ḥātim*

Governor, 144-152 A.H.: 762-769 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

140. *Dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر الامير  
يزيد بن حاتم  
مقال دينار  
ف

Reverse area:

صنعة  
كل  
•

Reverse margin:

على يدى عبدالر . . . ن بن يزيد

Green, 28; 4.23.  
ANS 56.8

5 Miles

Similar to *EAG*, 77–78; cf. *BM*, 14–15, lacking the crescent and the last line (= Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 16).

141. *One-half dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر الامير  
يزيد بن حاتم  
مثقال نصف  
واف

Reverse area:

صنعة  
كامل  
•

Reverse margin:

... ي عبد الرحمن ...

Yellowish green, 22; 2.11.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 79; *Cairo*, 197–200 (incomplete).

142. *One-half dīnār*.

Obverse similar to no. 141.

Reverse area:

كتبه  
كامل

Wrote it  
Kāmil.

Reverse margin:

... محمد بن شر [حبيل؟]

[At the hands of] Muḥammad b.  
Shura[ḥbil?].

Green, 22; 2.11.

ANS 53.123

PLATE VII

Probably similar to *University College*, 164, where the name in the reverse margin is incomplete. On *University College*, 161, with a similar reverse area, the name of the prefect is completely preserved and certainly seems to be

Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl, although, as here, the last group of letters is strangely written. The legend كته in place of صنعة is noteworthy.

VESSEL STAMPS

143. *One-half qist*.

امرا لا	Order of the a-
مير يزيد بن حا	mīr Yazīd b. Ḥā-
م . . على يدى	[ti]m, at the hands of
لمة نصف . . .	[Sa]lamah, one-half
سط وا	[qi]st, full
ف	measure.

Green, 39 × 35.  
ANS 54.15

PLATE VII

Unpublished. This is an important piece, for despite its poor state of preservation (it is chipped at the lower right) it almost certainly confirms the association of Salamah with Yazīd b. Ḥātim.<sup>39</sup> The approximate dates of Salamah's office have hitherto been uncertain. In *EAG* (pp. 127–128) I very tentatively proposed identifying him with Salamah b. Rajā', who was governor for a very short period from the end of 161 to the beginning of 162 A.H. I have now placed Salamah (whoever he was) between Yazīd b. Ḥātim and Muḥammad b. Sa'id, because of his association with these two men, with a date range of ca. 144–157 A.H.

144. *Executive stamp*.

م . . الامير	[Or]dered the amīr
يزيد بن حاتم	Yazīd b. Ḥātim,
صلحه الله	[may] Allāh keep him straight.

Green, 37 × 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *University College*, 169–170 (last line misread).

<sup>39</sup> Even less of the names is preserved on the disk-weight, *EAG*, 82.

<sup>5\*</sup>

*K. Salamah*

Prefect or Finance Director, sometime ca. 144-157 A.H.: 762-774 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

145.-146. *Thirty-three kharrūbah.*

سلمة منقال  
ثلاثة وثلاثين  
\*)  
خروبة  
∴

Salamah: weight  
of thirty-three

*kharrūbah.*

145. Green, 32; 6.38.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

146. Green, 31; (4.31+, 1/3 lacking).  
ANS 54.159

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 60.

For the dating of Salamah, see p. 57, above. Sometime between the years 144 and 157 A.H. Salamah must have been prefect (على يدى with Yazīd b. Ḥātim and with Muḥammad b. Sa'īd), and still within the same period but presumably after 152, Finance Director. It was in the latter capacity that he must have issued these weights and nos. 147-152, but it is curious that he never gives his father's name and that his weights do not bear the usual executive formulae.

147.-149. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

سلمة  
↗

147. Green, 31; 5.82.  
ANS 56.8

148. Green, 32; 5.81.  
ANS 56.8

149. Green, 31; 5.80.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 99–100; *Cairo*, 372–380.

For the Coptic symbol for 30, see *EAG*, p. 11, *EAG Suppl.*, p. 31.

150. *Fals of 26 kharrūbah.*

س  
: :  
س  
: :

Salamah:  
26.

Yellowish green, 31; 5.02.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE VIII

Similar to *University College*, 190 (77.1 grains = 5.00 grams), and *Cairo*, 381 (weight not given). Jungfleisch (*Notations conventionnelles*, p. 272) has one in his collection weighing 4.95 grams.<sup>40</sup> The weight of these pieces fairly closely approximates the theoretical weight of 26 *kharrūbah*, 5.119 grams (*EAG*, p. 10). The Coptic notation for 20 on this piece more nearly resembles the Greek form<sup>41</sup> than it does the derived Coptic cursive variety.<sup>42</sup> The figure for 6 is quite clear and is simply a variation of the form on no. 106, above.

<sup>40</sup> It would seem to me that his no. 563, mentioned on p. 271 of the same article, an anonymous weight with, I gather, the same symbols, is also 26 *kharrūbah*, although for some reason which I do not understand he interprets these symbols as signifying 29. As the piece is not illustrated one can judge only by his drawing of the symbols on p. 269, which differs in no essential manner from that for his 26-*kharrūbah* piece on p. 272. Furthermore, both these sets of symbols closely resemble his drawing of the symbols for 26 in a table (p. 270) presenting “numéros d’ordre, sans doute d’origine grecque ou copte mais fortement déformés par l’usage, numéros d’ordre qui ont parfois servi à paginer les premiers manuscrits arabes.” See also the observations under no. 106, p. 42, above.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Garthausen (*op. cit.* under no. 106), Taf. 5 (a MS of 835 A. D.) and Taf. 4b (a MS of 839 A. D.).

<sup>42</sup> As given in Mallon’s table (*loc. cit.* under no. 106).



151.-152. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah.*

سلمة \*  
مقال فلس  
اربعة وعشر  
بن خروبة

Salamah:  
weight of *fals*  
of four and twenty  
*kharrūbah*.

Square imprint.

151. Green, 29; 4.62.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE VIII

152. Green, 29; 4.64.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 61; *University College*, 188.

#### VESSEL STAMP

153. *Executive stamp.*

على بنى  
سلمة

Green, 27 × 25.  
ANS 54.160

Similar to *EAG*, 101; *Cairo*, 312-315.

*L. 'Umar b. Yaḥyā*<sup>43</sup>

Prefect or Finance Director, sometime ca. 152-157 (?) A.H.: 769-774  
(?) A.D.

#### COIN WEIGHTS

154. *Fals of 33 kharrūbah.*

••••  
عمر  
••

'Umar  
33.

Green, 33; 6.26 (small chip missing).  
ANS 56.8

<sup>43</sup> See p. 62 for the proposed identification of 'Umar with 'Umar b. Yaḥyā and his probable dates.

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 35;<sup>44</sup> *Cairo*, 370–371. For the Coptic symbols signifying 33, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 31–32. The 30 is as on no. 106, above; and the 3 closely resembles the figure in Mallon’s table as well as the Greek form in a MS of 633 A.D. and several MSS of the 9th century.<sup>45</sup>

155.–159. *Fals of 32 kharrūbah.*

عمر  
اثنين وثلاثين  
خروبة

155. Green, 31; 6.23.  
ANS 56.8

156. Yellowish green, 31; 6.23.  
ANS 56.163

157. Green, 31; 6.21.  
ANS 56.8

158. Green, 31; 6.17.  
ANS 56.8

159. Green, 30; 5.89 (frg. lacking).  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

Similar to *EAG*, 120–120a; *Cairo*, 363–367.

160. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

عمر  
ثلاثين  
خروبة

‘Umar: weight  
of fals, thirty  
*kharrūbah*.

Green, 33; 5.82.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

Similar to Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 6; *Fouquet Collection*, 58–59; *University College*, 215; *Cairo*, 362 (points omitted in transcription).

<sup>44</sup> The several points above and below the name and symbols on this piece are not correctly transcribed; they are exactly as here.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Garthausen (*op. cit.* under no. 106), Taf. 4b and 5.

## VESSEL STAMP

161. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
عمر بن  
بحى

At the hands of  
‘Umar b.  
Yaḥyâ.

Green, 27 × 24.  
ANS 54.175

PLATE VIII

Unpublished, but cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 197, with . . . . .  
عمر بن, possibly the same.

I have been unable to find the name of ‘Umar b. Yaḥyâ in the chronicles, but I am assigning him roughly to the period of Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd (ca. 152–157 A.H.) because of his association with the latter on two unpublished disk-weights which I have seen in the Benaki Museum in Athens.<sup>46</sup> As for the proposed identity of ‘Umar b. Yaḥyâ with the man who simply calls himself ‘Umar on the coin weights (nos. 154–160), this hypothesis is based on the argument that there are many points of resemblance between these weights and those of Salamah (nos. 145–152, above), whose dates are roughly contemporary with Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd and hence with ‘Umar b. Yaḥyâ.

*M. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd*

Governor, 152–157 (?) A.H.: 769–774 (?) A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

162. *Dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر الامير  
محمد بن سعيد  
مقال دينار

In the name of Allāh:  
order of the amīr  
Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd,  
weight of *dīnār*.

<sup>46</sup> I am indebted to Dr. M. Chatzidakis, Director, for furnishing me with photographs of these and other glass weights in his charge.

Reverse area:

صنعة	Manufacture of
سور [س]	Soueros.

Reverse margin:

... يدى سلمة	[At] the hands of Salamah.
--------------	----------------------------

Yellowish green, 29; 4.23.

ANS 53.123

PLATE VIII

Unpublished. Cf. *Cairo*, 207 (reverse margin effaced); *BM*, 19, with similar obverse and reverse areas, but a different marginal legend; *University College*, 185, with ... سعيد بن ...

The decipherment of the name in the reverse area, which occurs also in association with Yazīd b. Ḥātim, has hitherto been a puzzle, but I believe that I now have the correct solution. Lane-Poole read *عموزين*, “by weight,” which is surely wrong; Petrie read “Suezy” (?); Grohmann recognized the name *تمويوس*, which cannot be read here nor on many other unpublished specimens which I have examined, but which would certainly be a possibility on no. 163, below;<sup>47</sup> and Mme Launois transcribes (*Cairo*, nos. 203–207) *سو بن مر*, with the suggestion (no. 193) that the first group of letters might be the end of *يوسف*, which is clearly impossible. I think there can be little doubt that the name is an Arabic rendering of *σευηρος*, a Coptic version of the Greek (ultimately Latin) name which appears in papyri in the forms *Σουεροῦς*, *Σουηροῦς*, *Σουαιροῦς*, *Σουῆρις*, *Σοῆρις*, etc. (i.e., Severus).<sup>48</sup> On almost every weight bearing the name that

<sup>47</sup> Providing one assumed the fourth letter to be a *و* wrongly engraved (so also with *University College*, 185).

<sup>48</sup> Friedrich Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922), col. 391; Gustav Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, I (*Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde*, Bd. I, Schrift 2, Leipzig, 1929), p. 103, and (a shortened form) p. 105. Another variant Arabic form appears to be *سويرس*, Sabawirus, as in a papyrus of 247 A.H. (A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, II, Cairo, 1936, pp. 182–183).

I have seen, the final *sīn* is incomplete because of lack of room. As remarked above, there are specimens (such as no. 163, immediately below) on which the name appears to be تمويرس, but after searching unsuccessfully for a Coptic or Greek name which might be transliterated into Arabic in this form, I have come to the conclusion that what appears to be a group of two letters before the *waw* is actually a slip on the part of the die-engraver and that the elements are intended to be a *sīn* as on the other specimens. It is indeed improbable that there should have been two craftsmen placing their names on these products in the same shop (presumably) at the same time with names identical except for the first one or two letters.

163. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

امرا  
مير محمد  
بن سعيد  
منقال نصف

Order of the a-  
mīr Muḥammad  
b. Saʿīd:  
weight of one-half.

Reverse area:

صنعة  
عويرس

Manufacture of  
[Souerous?].

Reverse margin:

على يد سعيد . . . .

At the hands of Saʿīd . . . . .

Green, 22; 2.10.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

Probably similar to *Cairo*, 208 (reverse margin effaced); and cf. *BM*, 19 (a *dīnār*) with سعيد بن السيب in the reverse margin, and *University College*, 185 (also a *dīnār*) with part of the same name preserved in the margin. For the name in the reverse area see the discussion under no. 162, above.

164. *Dirhem.*

امرا لا	Order of the a-
مير محمد	mīr Muḥammad
بن سعيد	b. Sa‘īd:
مقال در	weight of <i>dir-</i>
م	<i>hem.</i>

Green, 25; 2.84.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

Unpublished.

DISK-WEIGHT

165. *Uncertain Weight.*

٩.....	[In the name of Allā]h (?):
*ير.....	[order of the am]īr (?)
ن سعيد	[Muḥammad ib]n Sa‘īd:
او ا...	.....

Green, 53 × 38; 30.88 (frg.).  
ANS 54.168

PLATE VIII

Unpublished. The symbol at the end of the last line appears to be the same as that on a ring-weight of Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd’s (no. 166, below), on a *raṭl* in the University College collection (no. 184), another *raṭl* in the Fouquet Collection (no. 50, and perhaps no. 51), and on several other unpublished heavy weights. I am unable to suggest an explanation of its significance. It is perhaps related to the symbol on an anonymous weight (no. 214, below), which in turn is probably the same as that on two weights discussed by M. Jungfleisch under the title, “Notations en ‘abjad’ sur des poids arabes en verre...” (*Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte*, 1950–1951, pp. 207–212). I fear I cannot go along with M. Jungfleisch’s ingenious theory that the symbol is a date written according to the *abjad* system.

## RING-WEIGHT

166. *Raṭl*.*Stamp A:*

بسم الله  
 امر الامير \*  
 محمد بن سعيد  
 رطل واف

In the name of Allāh:  
 order of the amīr  
 Muḥammad b. Saʿīd,  
*raṭl*, full weight.

*Stamp B:*

على يدى  
 سلمة

At the hands of  
 Salamah.

Dark green, frg. (top and part of one side), width 62, height 50+, thickness 45; stamp A: 35; stamp B: 21; 170.20+.

ANS 54.155

PLATE VIII

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 50 (symbol at end of 4th line not transcribed in text). Cf. no. 165, above.

## VESSEL STAMPS

167.-169. *One-half qisṭ*.

بسم الله  
 امر الامير  
 محمد بن سعيد  
 نصف قسط  
 واف

In the name of Allāh:  
 order of the amīr  
 Muḥammad b. Saʿīd,  
 one-half *qisṭ*,  
 full measure.

167. Green, 41 (with large rim frg.).

ANS 56.8

168. Green, 38 × 34.

ANS 56.8

169. Green, 35 × 27 (one-quarter lacking).

ANS 54.159

Similar to *Cairo*, 204. The name "Saʿīd" appears to be miswritten "Saʿd" on no. 167; on the two others it is incompletely preserved.

170.–171. *One-quarter qist*.

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امير الامير	order of the amīr
محمد بن سعيد	Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd,
... مع قسط و	[one-quar]ter <i>qist</i> , full
اف	measure.

170. Green, 38.  
ANS 56.8

171. Green, 37 × 34.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 168, and *Cairo*, 205–206  
(و of واف incorrectly transcribed as being on the 5th line).

*N. The Caliph al-Mahdi*

158–169 A.H.: 775–785 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

172. *Dīnār*.

Obverse:

✱	
بسم الله امر	In the name of Allāh: order
المهدي محمد	of al-Mahdi Muḥammad,
امير المؤمنين	Commander of the Believers,
امتع الله به	may Allāh give him long enjoyment:
مثقال دينار	weight of <i>dīnār</i> ,
واف	full weight.

Reverse area:

.....	Man[ufacture of a]-
[لمهاجر؟]	[l-Muhājir ?].
.....	.....



Reverse margin:

على يدى الامير محمد بن سليمان

At the hands of Muḥammad b.  
Sulaymān.

Green, 30; 4.25.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Unpublished. For al-Muhājir (?), see *EAG*, p. 123, and cf. nos. 174–175, below; Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, *EAG*, pp. 126–127, and cf. nos. 174–175, below.

173. *Dīnār*.

Obverse:

✱

بسم الله ام...  
المهدى محمد  
امير المؤمنين  
امتع الله به  
مثقال دينار  
واف

In the name of Allāh: ord[er of]  
al-Mahdi Muḥammad,  
Commander of the Believers,  
may Allāh grant him long enjoyment:  
weight of *dīnār*,  
full weight.

Reverse area:

المؤ  
منين

the Be-  
lievers.

Reverse margin:

على يدى الامير . . . . . ي مولى  
امير

At the hands of the amīr [Yaḥy]â,  
Client of the Commander of

Green, 29; 4.23.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Unpublished. I have been able to restore the name in the reverse margin through knowledge of a similar piece in the Muntaza Palace collection in Alexandria, where “Yaḥyâ” is preserved. Cf. no. 178, below, a disk-weight of his. A half *dīnār* of al-Mahdi in the University College collection (no. 197), with مولى امير المؤمنين . . . , is doubtless his also.

174. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
المهدي امير  
المؤمنين مثقال  
ل نصف و  
اف

In the name of Allāh:  
al-Mahdi, Commander of  
the Believers: weigh-  
t of one-half, full  
weight.

Reverse area:

ضعة ا  
[لمهاجر؟]  
.....

Manufacture of a-  
[l-Muhājir ?],  
.....

Reverse margin:

على يدى الامير محمد بن سليمان

At the hands of the amīr Muḥammad  
b. Sulaymān.

Green, 12; 2.12.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Similar to *Cairo*, 215; probably similar to *BM*, 20 (last name in reverse margin transcribed "...SMR").

175. *One-third dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر المهدي ا  
مير المؤمنين  
مثقال ثلث  
واف

Reverse area:

صنعة ا  
لمهاجر  
• \* •

Reverse margin:

... الامير محمد بن ساء...

Brownish green, 20; 1.41.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 89; probably similar to *BM*, 21-22 ("....SMR"), and *University College*, 200-201.

176. *One-third dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر المهدى ا  
مير المؤمنين  
مثقال ثلث  
واف

Reverse area:

بن ابر  
هيم

Reverse margin:

بسم (?) ..... ي اسمعيل

Green, 19; 1.39.

ANS 53.123

PLATE IX

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 26. See the discussion there, pp. 25-26. Here the name Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm is quite clear.

177. *Fals of 20 (?) kharrūbah*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
المهدى محمد  
امير المؤمنين  
امتع الله ...  
[فلس ... ?]  
.....

In the name of Allāh:  
al-Mahdi Muḥammad,  
Commander of the Believers,  
may Allāh give him long enjoyment,  
*fals* of ..... ?  
.....

Reverse: traces of area and marginal legend?

Pale green, 27; 3.93, oxidized and flaked.

ANS 54.175

Unpublished. The weight would be approximately that of 20 *kharrūbah*.

*O. Yaḥyâ, Mawlâ of al-Mahdi*

Ca. 158–169 A.H.: 775–785 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

178. (*Wuqīyah?*).

بسم الله امر  
الامير يحيى مولى  
امير المؤمنين .....  
.....  
.....

In the name of Allāh: ordered  
the amīr Yaḥyâ, *mawlâ*  
of the Commander of the Believers  
.....  
.....

Yellowish green, 54 × 32+; circular imprint, 33; 17.34+ (frg., about ½ or more).

ANS 51.119

PLATE IX

Unpublished. This Yaḥyâ is doubtless the same individual whose name occurs in association with that of the Caliph al-Mahdi; see no. 173, above.

*P. Al-Muhājir*

Prefect, ca. 158–169 A.H.: 775–785 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

179. *Executive stamp*.

على يدى  
المهاجر

At the hands of  
al-Muhājir.

Green, 31.

ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

6 Miles

Unpublished, unless *Fouquet Collection*, 192, which Casanova transcribes العهاب, be similar. The dates of al-Muhājir must fall within the rule of al-Mahdi, with whom he is associated on other glass pieces. Cf. *EAG*, p. 123.

*Q. Wāḍiḥ, Mawlā of al-Mahdi*

Governor and Finance Director, 162 A.H.: 779 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

180. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
مثقال نصف  
دينار  
واحد

In the name of Allāh:  
weight of one-half  
*dīnār*,  
full weight.

Reverse area:

واضح  
✱

Wāḍiḥ.

Reverse margin:

[على يدي؟] الله

[At the hands of?] al-Mu[hājir].

Green, 22; 2.12.

ANS 56.163

PLATE IX

Unpublished. This weight and the vessel stamp immediately following must have been issued when Wāḍiḥ was governor,<sup>49</sup> and al-Muhājir was prefect under him (see no. 179, above).

<sup>49</sup> *EAG*, p. 129.

VESSEL STAMP

181. *One-quarter qist*.

..مر الامير و	[Or]der of the amīr W-
..ضح مولى امير..	[ā]ḍih, <i>mawla</i> of the Comman[der]
..للمؤمنين ربع	[of t]he Believers: one-quarter
قسط واف	<i>qist</i> , full measure.

Brownish green, 29.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Unpublished, but cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 155–156, fragments with ...الامير[وا]ضح مولى امير المؤمنين....

*R. Mūsā b. Muṣ‘ab (?)*

Governor and Finance Director, 167–168 A.H.: 784–785 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

182. *One-quarter (great?) raṭl*.

Central stamp, A(rectangular):

ربع رطل	One-quarter <i>raṭl</i>
.....ك	<i>k[abir?]</i> .....
.....	.....

Stamp at right, B(rectangular):

.....ما	Among those things o[rdered by]
.....الامير	the amī[r Mūsā?]
.....بن مص	b. Mus[‘ab].....
.....اص	.....

Stamp at left, C (rectangular):

.....	.....
.....صر	..[M]iṣr?

Green, fragmentary (perhaps one half), 86 × 37+ (oval); max. thickness, 17; stamp A: 33 × 16+; stamp B: 22 × 9+; stamp C: 12+ × 8+; 60.10+grm.  
ANS 51.119

6\*

Unpublished. Mūsâ b. Muṣ'ab al-Khash'ami was Governor and Finance Director of Egypt on behalf of al-Mahdi from 7 Dhu'l-Ḥijjah 167 until 9 Shawwāl 168 (1 July 784–24 April 785 A.D.).<sup>50</sup>

*S. Mūsâ b. Sābiq and Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim*

Prefects, ca. 171–180 A.H. (?): 787–796 A.D.(?)

DISK-WEIGHTS

183. *Wuqīyah?*

Stamp A (circular):

على يدى	At the hands of
موسى بن سا	Mūsâ b. Sā-
بق وصلح	biq and Ṣāliḥ
بن مسلم	b. Muslim.

Stamp B (circular, 1/5 missing): Identical with A.

Stamp C (rectangular, fragmentary):

.....	.....
واف	full weight.

Pale blue-green, 56 (oval); max. thickness, 12; Stamps A & B: 20; stamp C: 13+; 19.08+ (perhaps up to one half missing).

ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Unpublished. If the rectangular stamp (C) was placed in the center, there were probably two more circular stamps located around it, as are the circular stamps A and B.

Mūsâ b. Sābiq and Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim are, so far as I have been able to determine, unknown in the chronicles, but as there are weights and stamps of Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim associated with Mūsâ b. 'Isâ (*Cairo*, 235–236), and the latter is known to have been Governor of Egypt from 171–172, 175–176 and again from 179–180 A.H.,<sup>51</sup> I have placed Mūsâ b. Sābiq and Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim between these dates.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Kindi (ed. Guest), pp. 124–128; cf. Ṭabari, III, p. 521.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Kindi (ed. Guest), pp. 132, 134, 137.

184. *Uncertain weight.*

Stamp A (circular):

على يدى  
...وسى بن سا  
...صلح  
...سلم

Stamp B (circular): nothing preserved.

Green, 39+ × 25+; max. thickness, 11; stamp A: 21; stamp B: ?;  
9.98+ (fragmentary).

ANS 51.119

PLATE IX

Unpublished. The stamp is, of course, the same as that appearing twice on no. 183.

VESSEL STAMP

185. *Executive stamp.*

...ى بن ...	[Mūs]â b. [Sâ]-
...وصلح	[biq] and Ṣāliḥ
...مسلم	[b.] Muslim.

Green, 19.

ANS 56.8

Unpublished.

*T. ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-Mahdi*

Governor and Finance Director, 179 and 180–181 A.H.: 795 and 796–797  
A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

186. *One-half wuqīyah (?)*.

ما امر به	Among those things ordered by
الامير عبيد	the amīr ‘Ubayd-



الله امير المؤمنين	ullāh [son of] the Commander of the Be-
الله بقاء	lievers, may prolong
	Allāh his life.

Roughly circular, pale blue-green, 46; square imprint, 30; i7.33+ (chips lacking).  
ANS 56.8

PLATE X

Unpublished. There can be little doubt about the attribution of this piece despite what I assume to be an engraver's error in the third line (the omission of *bn*).<sup>52</sup> 'Ubaydullāh, son of the Caliph al-Mahdi, was appointed Governor and Finance Director of Egypt by Hārūn al-Rashīd on 13 Muḥarram 179 (8 April 795), but until his arrival in Egypt on 11 Rabī' I of that year (June 795) he was represented by 'Abdullāh b. al-Musayyib. On the 3rd of Ramaḍān (20 November 795) 'Ubaydullāh was relieved by Mūsā b. 'Isā (see p. 74, above), and he left Egypt on 2 Shawwāl. He was reappointed to the position in Jumādā II 180 (August 796) and arrived at his post on 4 Sha'bān of that year (12 October 796). He remained in office until 3 Ramaḍān 181 (29 October 797).<sup>53</sup>

This is the first glass piece of 'Ubaydullāh to be published. A few dirhems struck at Armīniyah when he was governor of that province in 172 and 174 A.H. bear his name.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> The weight could not be one of the first Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mahdi 'Ubaydullāh. The piece came from Egypt, is typically Egyptian, and the epigraphy does not suit the late 3rd or early 4th centuries of the Hijrah.

<sup>53</sup> The full sources are cited in A. Grohmann, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, Series III, *Arabica*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 141.

<sup>54</sup> 172: Aḥmed Ziya, *Meskukāl-i Islāmīyeh* (Constantinople, 1910), no. 420 (with 'Ubaydullāh mistranscribed 'Abdullāh); 174: H. Nützel, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, I (Berlin, 1898), no. 960, and A. Markov, *Inventarii Katalog Musulmanskikh Monet* (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 27, no. 378. Cf. R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien unter den Abbasiden, von as-Saffach bis zur Krönung Aschots I., 750–887* (Vienna, 1931), p. 31 (Markov does not record 'Ubaydullāh's name, but Vasmer must have examined the coin himself).

*U. Mu‘āwiyah b. Zufar*

Prefect ca. 180–190 A.H.(?): ca. 796–806 A.D.(?)

DISK-WEIGHT

187. [*One-half wuqīyah?*].

على يدى ممو	At the hands of Mu‘āwi-
ية بن زفر (?) المحس...	yah b. Zufar (?) al-Muḥs[ini?],
مولى الامير	<i>mawlā</i> of the amīr
.....	.....

Green, frg. (about  $\frac{2}{3}$ ),  $35 \times 29+$ ; square imprint, 19; 9.30+.

ANS 54.15

PLATE X

Unpublished.

RING-WEIGHT

188. *Great ratl*.

Stamp A (square, in center):

رطل	<i>Ratl</i>
كبير	<i>kabīr</i> ,
واف	full weight.

Stamp B (square, at right):

على يدى ممو	At the hands of Mu‘āwi-
ية بن زفر (?) الم...	yah b. Zufar (?) al-M....
الامير ....	<i>mawlā</i> of the amīr
.....	.....

Stamp C (rectangular, at left):

الام...	The amīr.....
.....	.....
و.....	W.....,
كرمه.....	[may Allāh] be generous to him.

Green, intact but large chip off two sides and smaller chips,  $82 \times 78 \times 44$ ; imprints, A: 22; B: 20; C:  $11+ \times 21$ ; 464.00+.

ANS 54.157

PLATE X

Unpublished. Stamp B is in all probability the same as the stamp on no. 187, above.

The suggested identification of the prefect whose name appears on nos. 187 and 188 is made with great reserve. Ṭabari<sup>55</sup> mentions a certain Mu'āwiyah b. Zufar b. 'Āsim, who led the summer raids into Anatolia in the years 178 and 180. This is the only person with this name that I have been able to find in the chronicles; it is not altogether out of the question that this man was later (or even before his duties in the field) prefect in Egypt. Eventually we may turn up other specimens bearing this man's stamps, and let us hope with the name of the governor preserved.

*V. Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Baḥbāḥ*

Governor, 193–194 A.H.: 808–810 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

189. *Dīnār*.

Area:

مثقال

دينار

واف

Margin:

مما امر به الامير الحسين بن...

Very pale blue-green, 29; 4.24.

ANS 56.8

PLATE X

Similar to *EAG* 108–109. I am now convinced that this man's name was not al-Ḥasan, but al-Ḥusayn. The name is obscure here but on the ring-weight described below it is quite clear. My doubts about the reading of his name were expressed in *EAG*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>55</sup> III, pp. 637, 645.

RING-WEIGHT

190. *Great raṭl*.

بما امر به الامير الحسين

Among those things ordered by the  
amīr al-Ḥusayn

ن الجباح ابقاه الله  
\*

b. al-Baḥbāḥ, may Allāh preserve  
him:

رطل كبير . . . . . ف  
على يدي عبد الله بن عثمان

*raṭl kabīr*, full weight;  
at the hands of ‘Abdullāh b.  
‘Uthmān.

Green, frg., about  $1\frac{1}{2}-2\frac{2}{3}$ ?,  $76 \times 49 \times 60+$ ; rectangular stamp,  $52 \times 33$ ;  
324.50+.

ANS 54.161

PLATE X

Unpublished. The prefect ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Uthmān (or the father’s name could just possibly be ‘Āmir) is not only new in the literature of glass weights and measure stamps, but also, so far as I have been able to determine, is unrecorded in the chronicles.

W. ‘Isā b. Manṣūr

Prefect, 216–217 and 229–233 A.H.: 831–832 and 843–847 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

191. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

على يدي الامير

At the hands of the amīr

عيسى بن منصور

‘Isā b. Manṣūr,

[مولى امير المؤمنين]  
منين

[*mawlā* of the Commander of the Be-  
lievers?].

Pale blue-green, circular, 37; max. thickness, 8; circular imprint,  
20; 14.09 (intact but pitted by oxidation).

ANS 56.8

The inscription is very faint, and the last two lines are virtually illegible. Around the circular imprint are four “thumb-nail” prints.

Unpublished. Cf. a ring-weight in the University College collection, no. 218; and two executive stamps in *Cairo*, 247–248. There is some uncertainty about the dates of the two prefectures of ‘Īsā b. Maṣṣūr b. Mūsā al-Rāfi‘i (or al-Rāfiqi?).<sup>56</sup> His first term began sometime in 216 and ended evidently on 18 Ṣafar 217 (831–25 March 832); his second began on 7 Muḥarram 229 and appears to have ended on 15 Rabī‘ I, 233 (6 October 843–29 October 847).<sup>57</sup>

### X. *The Caliph al-Mu‘taṣim* (?)

218–227 A.H.: 833–842 A.D.

#### VESSEL STAMP

#### 192. *Uncertain Stamp.*

... امر	Among those things ordered [by]
... امام الله	[the] Imām al-Mu‘[taṣim?]
... لله امير	[bi’]llāh, Commander of the B[e]-
.....	[lievers].

Green, 21; small frg. of rim preserved.  
ANS 56.176

Unpublished. The attribution is not certain, but the style of epigraphy suggests the period of al-Mu‘taṣim. Ring-weights of his are known: e.g., *Fouquet Collection*, 45, and *University College*, 219.

<sup>56</sup> Actually he was acting governor on behalf of al-Mu‘taṣim, Abu-Ja‘far Ashinās and Itākh al-Turki.

<sup>57</sup> Al-Kindi, pp. 190, 192, 196; al-Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 311–312; cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.* under no. 186, above, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 146. Zambaur’s dates (*Manuel*, p. 27) differ somewhat; I believe he misread Maqrīzi’s “governed the first time” as “1 Muḥarram.”

Y. Mūsā b. abi'l-‘Abbās

Governor, 219–224 A.H.: 834–839 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

193. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

على يدى	At the hands of
موسى بن	Mūsā b.
ابى العباس	abi'l-‘Abbās.

Dark amber, 37; square imprint, 21; 15.74 (intact).  
ANS 56.8

PLATE X

Unpublished. For Mūsā b. abi'l-‘Abbās, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 27–28.<sup>58</sup>

VESSEL STAMP

194. *Executive stamp*.

على يدى  
... سى بن  
... با ...

Pale green, 14.  
ANS 54.154

Unpublished as a separate vessel stamp, but the legend is the same as that on no. 193; and cf. *EAG Suppl.*, 30; *Fouquet Collection*, 172 and an unspecified number between 199 and 235.

<sup>58</sup> There are two typographical errors on p. 27: “934” for “834,” and “perfect” for “prefect.”

Z. 'Ali b. Yaḥyâ

Governor, 226-229 A.H.: 841-843 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

195. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

الامير على  
بن يحيى مولى  
امير المؤمنين  
ابقاه الله

The amīr 'Ali  
b. Yaḥyâ, *mawla*  
of the Commander of the Believers,  
may Allāh preserve him.

Yellowish green, 36; max. thickness, 9; square imprint, 19 × 20;  
16.06 (intact).

ANS 53.49

PLATE X

Unpublished. 'Ali b. Yaḥyâ al-Armani governed on behalf of Abu-Ja'far Ashinās from 9 Rabī' II 226 (5 February 841) until (officially) 7 Dhu'l-Hijjah 228 (6 September 843) and probably continued in office until 7 Muḥarram 229 (6 October 843), when he was succeeded by 'Isâ b. Manṣūr (see p. 80, above).<sup>59</sup> So far as I know this is the first glass piece of 'Ali b. Yaḥyâ to be published.

AA. *The Caliph al-Wāthiq*

227-232 A.H.: 842-847 A.D.

RING-WEIGHT

196. *Uncertain weight.*

.....  
... مر الله بالعدل ...  
... ذلك امر به عب ...

.....  
[Com]manded Allāh justice.....  
[and ac]cordingly ordered the Serv-  
[ant of Allāh]

<sup>59</sup> Al-Kindi, pp. 195-197; cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.* under no. 186, above, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 154.

... رون الامام الو... [Hā]rūn, the Imām, al-W[āthiq]  
 ... امير المؤمنين ... [bi’llāh], Commander of the Be[lie-  
 vers],  
 ... الله ... may Allāh ..... him.

Green, small frg. of top only,  $57 \times 37 \times 22$ ; 35.38.  
 ANS 54.159

PLATE XI

This weight is in all probability identical with one described by M. Jungfleisch in *Un poids et une estampille*, p. 2; cf. also a ring-weight (?) with possibly the same legend (although differently read) and an additional date stamp (228 A.H.?), in the Innès collection.<sup>60</sup>

*BB. Yazīd b. ‘Abdullāh*

Governor, 242–253 A.H.: 856–867 A.D.

RING-WEIGHT

197. [Ratī?].

بسم الله بركة مما امر  
 به الامير يزيد بن عبدالله  
 مولى امير المؤمنين  
 اطال الله بقاهما  
 In the name of Allāh: blessing;  
 among those things ordered  
 by the amīr Yazīd b. ‘Abdullāh,  
*mawlā* of the Commander of the  
 Believers,  
 may Allāh prolong their lives.

Green, with iridescent patina, fragmentary,  $43 \times 46 + \times 36 +$ ; square  
 imprint, 27; 104.07+.  
 ANS 54.155

PLATE XI

Probably similar to *University College*, 238–239, partially misread, and to *Fouquet Collection*, 56, also partly misread. For a disk-weight of Yazīd b. ‘Abdullāh, see *EAG Suppl.*, 32,

<sup>60</sup> M. Casanova, *Étude sur les inscriptions arabes des poids et mesures en verre* (Communication faite à l’Institut Égyptien dans la séance du 6 Mars 1891), Cairo, 1891, p. 25.



where (pp. 30–31) other weights of his are mentioned.<sup>61</sup> It is of interest to note that the stamp on our piece has an empty space, sufficient for two lines, at the bottom, and that in this respect it resembles *University College*, 238–239. *University College*, 237, evidently had another line or two. M. Jungfleisch, who donated the present piece to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, remarked that this was a “2<sup>e</sup> émission avec la malédiction contre les prévaricateurs — 5<sup>e</sup> ligne—bouchée.” It does indeed appear that the lower part of the legend had been obliterated on the die. Yazīd b. ‘Abdullāh’s career is summarized in *EAG Suppl.*, p. 30.

<sup>61</sup> The specimen in the Fouquet Collection is there mistakenly referred to as a disk-weight; it is a ring-weight.

### III. ṬULŪNIDS

#### *A. Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn*

Governor (and Semi-Independent Ruler) of Egypt

254–270 A.H. : 868–884 A.D.

#### DISK-WEIGHTS

198.–199. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

مما امر به الا	Among those things ordered by the a-
مير احمد بن طو	mīr Aḥmad b. Ṭū-
لون مولى امير	lūn, <i>mawla</i> of the Commander
المؤمنين	of the Believers.

198. Green, 38; max. thickness, 8; circular imprint, 22; 16.52 (intact).  
ANS 56.163

199. Green, 37 × 34; max. thickness, 9; circular imprint, 21; 15.83 (intact).  
ANS 54.175

PLATE XI

Unpublished. Two other weights and a vessel stamp of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn have been published: a disk-weight (one-quarter *ratl*),<sup>62</sup> a ring-weight dated 259,<sup>63</sup> and a vessel stamp,<sup>64</sup> not bearing Aḥmad's name but dated 260 A.H. See also no. 200, below.

#### RING-WEIGHT

200. [*Ratl*?].

بسم الله بركة من الله	In the name of Allāh: blessing from
	Allāh;
امر به الامير احمد بن طو	ordered it the amīr Aḥmad b. Ṭū-

<sup>62</sup> Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 19 (name misread).

<sup>63</sup> Jungfleisch, *Un poids et une estampille*, p. 7.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

لون مولى امير المؤ	lūn, <i>mawlā</i> of the Commander of the
	Be-
منين فى سنة	lievers, in the year
تسع وخمسين	nine and fifty
وماثنين	and two hundred.

Green, frg. of top and right side only,  $53 \times 38 + \times 38 +$ ; rectangular imprint,  $27 \times 25$ ; 103.49+.

ANS 54.160

PLATE XI

Similar to Jungfleisch, *Un poids et une estampille*, except that he transcribes البركة in place of بركة. As that piece is illustrated only by a drawing it is impossible to verify whether the definite article is present or not. Here the article is definitely lacking.

### B. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad

Ruler of Egypt, 270–282 A.H.: 884–896 A.D.

#### RING-WEIGHT

201. [*Raṭl*?].

Stamp A:

بركة من الله  
للامير خارويه  
[؟.....]

Blessing from Allāh  
on the amīr Khumārawayh  
.....  
(Possibly no 3rd line)

Stamp B:

..... بركة  
..... لا  
[؟.....]

As stamp A.

Dark brown, frg. of top and right side only,  $50 + \times 43 \times 43 +$ ; square imprints A and B: 24; 142.06+.

ANS 54.168

PLATE XI

Unpublished. This is the first known weight of the Ṭūlūnid prince Khumārawayh, and, unless I am mistaken, the latest weight of the ‘Abbāsīd period to be published.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The pieces of the later ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs (al-Mustaḍī, al-Nāṣir, etc., *BM*, pp. 36–38, etc., are actually Ayyūbid. I am sceptical about the attribution by Rogers of a one-third *dīnār* weight supposedly of the Caliph al-Muqtadir (*BM*, p. xxviii). Exception, however, should be made with regard to nos. 260–261, below, if indeed my proposal to date this piece in the 3rd century of the Hijrah is acceptable.

#### IV. UNIDENTIFIED OFFICIALS<sup>66</sup>

##### *A. Abān b. Ibrāhīm*

###### VESSEL STAMP

202. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
ابان بن  
ابراهيم

Green, 30.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 111; *EAG Suppl.*, 33; *Cairo*, 317-318.

##### *B. Idrīs and Mūsā*

###### COIN WEIGHT ?

203. [*Fals of 36 kharrūbah ?*].

ادريس وموسى  
ابن مهدى  
\*

Idrīs and Mūsā,  
sons of (?) Mahdi.

Dark amber, 33; 7.07.  
ANS 53.49

PLATE XI

Unpublished. This curious weight closely resembles one in the Llewelyn-Phillips Collection in the British Museum, and also is not unlike another in that collection and one in the University College Collection (no. 249), with . . . . . and 'Isâ, ماسى يحيى. At the present time I have no explanation of the anomalous legend to propose. ابنى is a quasi-plural of ابن.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Arranged alphabetically.

<sup>67</sup> Lane, I, p. 262, col. 2.

## C. Ḥakam b. Yaḥyâ (?)

## VESSEL STAMP

204. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى

حكم

بن يحيى (?)

Green, 36 × 33.

ANS 53.49

Unpublished.

At the hands of  
Ḥakam  
b. Yaḥyâ (?).

PLATE XI

## D. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Nuṣayr

## COIN WEIGHT

205. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

على يدى عبد

الجبار بن نصير

مثقال فلس

خروبة

(\*)

Green, 32; 5.73.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 114–115; *Cairo*, 359–361 (symbol omitted from the transcription). For the Coptic figure, see *EAG*, p. 11, *EAG Suppl.*, p. 31, and *supra*, p. 58.

## E. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr

## COIN WEIGHTS

206.–207. *Fals of 20 kharrūbah.*

بما امر به

محمد بن عمرو

مثقال فلس وزن

عشرين خروبة

Among those things ordered by  
Muḥammad b. ‘Amr:  
weight of *fals*, weight  
twenty *kharrūbah*.

7\*

206. Green, 28; 3.85.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XI

207. Green, 28; 3.84.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 4 (partly misread);  
*Fouquet Collection*, 45-47; *Cairo*, 354-356.

*F. Maslamah?*

COIN WEIGHT?

208. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah?*

مسلمة (؟) Maslamah (?).

Pale green, 26 × 24; 4.73.  
ANS 56.164

Unpublished. The piece is crudely made, of irregular thickness, and imperfectly inscribed. It is possibly of a much later period.

*G. Hilāl b. al-Jabbār?*

COIN WEIGHT

209. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

٢٢  
بسم الله  
مثقال نصف  
دينار  
واف

In the name of Allāh:  
weight of one-half  
*dīnār*,  
full weight.

Reverse area:

الجبار (؟)

al-Jabbār (?).

Reverse margin:

على يدى . . . . . هلال بن

At the hands of . . . . . Hilāl b.

Green, 22; 2.12.

ANS 56.163

PLATE XI

Unpublished. The prefect might possibly be the same individual whose name was read Hilāl al-Jabbār (?) on *EAG*, 125. The two elements above *b'ism* look very much like the Arabic figures ٣٣, but they are not altogether clear and this may be an illusion.

### *H. Yaḥyā b. Ḥātim*

RING-WEIGHT

210. *Uncertain weight.*

مما امر

Among those things ordered

به يحيى

by Yaḥyā

بن حاتم

b. Ḥātim.

Pale bluish green, part of top only,  $54+ \times 59 \times 33+$ ; 140.84+.

ANS 55.145

PLATE XII

Unpublished. The epigraphy is curious: it is difficult to say whether it is a crude early script or a later semi-cursive style.



## V. ANONYMOUS COIN WEIGHTS

### A. "Al Muḥammad"

211.-212. *Dīnār*.

بسم الله  
امر ال محمد  
مثقال دينار  
واف  
✱

In the name of Allāh:  
order of the Family of Muḥammad:  
weight of *dīnār*,  
full weight.

211. Green, 30; 4.23.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

212. Green, 30; 2.85 + (1/3 lacking).  
ANS 51.119

Similar to *Cairo*, 145. Quite a few weights and stamps with the enigmatic legend "Al Muḥammad" have been published: dirhems of 13 *kharrūbah*;<sup>68</sup> half-*raṭl* of *duhn*;<sup>69</sup> and quarter-*qisṭ*.<sup>70</sup> The problem of the significance of "the Family of Muḥammad" as the issuing authority for these pieces remains unsolved. Certainly these weights and stamps are not, as Casanova suggested, to be dated in the Fāṭimid period.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *BM*, 33; *Fouquet Collection*, 44; *University College*, 94; *Cairo*, 146.

<sup>69</sup> *Fouquet Collection*, 165.

<sup>70</sup> *Fouquet Collection*, 162-164; *University College*, 95; *Cairo*, 143.

<sup>71</sup> Might the governor Wāḍih (cf. nos. 180-181) perhaps have issued these pieces? Ibn Taghribirdi tells us that he "inclined toward" the 'Alids and actually these sympathies led to his execution in 169 A. H. (ed. Juynboll, I, p. 433). This is pure speculation, needless to say, and it is doubtful that the hypothesis could ever be substantiated.

*B. Pious Phrase Only*213. [*Dīnār*?].

الو  
فاله

Pale blue-green, 27; 4.25.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 214, the weight of which was not given. With a small fragment missing it weighs 2.98, but the missing fragment is not large enough to bring the weight up to that of a full *dīnār*. The weight of the present piece, quite suitable for a *dīnār*, may simply be a coincidence, and it is not improbable that pieces of this type are not weights but tokens of some sort.

214. [*Dīnār*].

See illustration.

Green, 25; 4.23.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

This curious piece is obviously related to *BM*, 46, and to two weights (4.22 and 1.40 grams respectively) published by M. Jungfleisch.<sup>72</sup> The legend on the present piece is retrograde, the first line clearly *بسم الله*, as on the published specimens. The second line on the latter is *ربي الله* ("Allāh is my Lord"); here the *ra* is missing, unless it is the small mark above the line at the left. Lane-Poole read *دينار* in the third line, although I would say to judge by the illustration that this is not certain. Here the symbol resembles the transcribed figure on Jungfleisch's specimens. I regret to say that I find it impossible to subscribe to Jungfleisch's ingenious inter-

<sup>72</sup> "Notations en 'abjad' sur des poids arabes en verre," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXIII (1950-1951), pp. 207-212.

pretation of this symbol to the effect that the curious element in the center of the second line is an *abjad* notation for the date 160; but I have no explanation of my own.

### C. Standard Anonymous Weights

#### 215. One-third *dīnār*.

بسم الله  
مثقال ثلث  
دينار وافي  
✱

In the name of Allāh:  
weight of one-third  
*dīnār*, full weight.

Amber, 18; 1.42.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE XII

Unpublished. The only published anonymous one-third *dīnār* weight that I am aware of is *University College*, 202, which has a different legend.

#### 216. *Fals* of 30 *kharrūbah*.

مثقال  
فلس  
ثلاثين  
خروبة

Weight of  
*fals* of  
thirty  
*kharrūbah*.

Green, 31; 5.80.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 15–16.

#### 217. *Fals* of 30 *kharrūbah*.

Retrograde:

مثقال فا  
س ثلاثين خر  
[و]بة وافي

Weight of *fals*-  
s of thirty *kharr*-  
[*ū*]*bah*, full weight.

(Shallow imprint)

Pale green, 29 × 26; 4.13.

ANS 53.50

Similar to *BM*, 38, where Lane-Poole transcribed فراط, but the illustration suggests that the word is *mithqāl*, as here.

218. *Fals of 27 kharrūbah.*

هذا مثقال  
ل فلس سبع  
وعشرين  
خرو  
بة \*

Green, 31; 5.29.

ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 37.

219. *Fals of 26 qīrāt.*

مثقال [فلس؟]  
سته وعشرين  
قيرط

Weight [of *fals*?]  
of six and twenty  
*qīrāt*.

Green, 30; 5.12.

ANS 56.8

Unpublished.

220. *Fulūs of 26 kharrūbah.*

هذا مثقال  
الفلوس ستة  
وعشرين خروبة

This is the weight  
of the *fulūs* of six  
and twenty *kharrūbah*.

Green, 33; 5.37 (broken and mended).

ANS 54.164

Unpublished. Especially noteworthy is the use of the word *fulūs* in place of the usual singular *fals*.

221. *Fals of 25 kharrūbah.*

فلس  
خمس و  
عشرين  
خروبة

Pale green, 30; 5.17.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 134–137; *EAG Suppl.*, 38.

222.–223. *Fals of 25 kharrūbah.*

Within square and circle:

منقال فلس	Weight of <i>fals</i>
(sic) خمس وعلس	of five and twen-
ين خروبة	ty <i>kharrūbah</i> .

222. Opaque black, 29; 4.87.  
ANS 56.8

223. Opaque black, 29; 4.93.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE XII

Probably similar to *BM* 39, 39G (not illustrated). Note the curious spelling of the first part of “twenty-five.”

224.–225. *Fals of 25 kharrūbah.*

هذا مثقال  
افس (sic) خمس  
وعشرين  
خرو  
بة \*

224. Pale bluish green, 30; 4.86.  
ANS 56.8

225. Green, 31; 4.88.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 39, where it is noted that the ل of مثقال is reversed; actually it is simply ل as here, and فلس in each case is written as transcribed above.

226. *Fals* of 25 *qīrāt*.

مثقال فلس  
واف وزن  
خمس وعشر  
بن قيرط

Green, 30; 4.84.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 138.

227. [*Fals*] of 24 *qīrāt*.

وزن ار  
بعة وعشر  
بن قيرطا

Green, 29; 4.83.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 139.

228. [*Fals*] of 24 *qīrāt*.

وزن ار  
بعة وعشر  
بن قيرط و  
اف

Weight of four and twenty *qīrāt*, full weight.

Pale bluish green, 27; 4.88.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Unpublished.

229. *Fals* [of 22 *kharrūbah*?].

مثقال

فلس

Very crude lettering.

Green, 24; 3.34.

ANS 50.170

Similar to *EAG*, 142–143.

230. *Fals* of 20 *kharrūbah*.

فلس

عشرين

خروبة

\*

Green, 29; 4.10.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 144–146; *Cairo*, 343–347.

231. *Fals* of 20 *kharrūbah*.

بسم الله

مثقال فلس

عشرين

خروبة

Green, 29; 3.88.

ANS 56.8

In the name of Allāh:  
weight of *fals* of  
twenty  
*kharrūbah*.

Unpublished.

PLATE XII

232. *Fals* of 20 *kharrūbah*.

مثقال فلس

عشرين خروبة

واف

• \* •

Brownish green, 28; 3.85.

ANS 56.8

Weight of *fals*  
of twenty *kharrūbah*,  
full weight.

Unpublished.

PLATE XII

233. *Fals of 20 qīrāṭ.*

... مثقال	Weigh[t] of
... فلس	<i>fals</i> of tw[en]-
... بن قيرط	ty <i>qīrāṭ</i> , [full]
.....	[weight].

Green, 25; 4.17.  
ANS 54.159

Unpublished.

234.-235. *Fals of 18 qīrāṭ.*

بسم الله  
مثقال فلس  
واف وزن  
ممنية عشر  
قيرط

234. Yellowish green, 27; 3.53.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE XII

235. Brownish green, 27; 3.53.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 148, but no traces of a reverse legend.

236. *Fals of 15 kharrūbah.*

مثقال فلس	Weight of <i>fals</i>
خمس عشر	of fiftee-
ة خروبة	n <i>kharrūbah</i> .

Green, 26; 3.04.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Similar to *BM* 49 (and probably 50, which is described as "same as 48," but 49 is probably intended); also *Cairo*, 328-329.



237. *Fals of 13 kharrūbah.*

مثقال فلس  
ثلاثة عشر  
خروبة


Weight of *fals*  
of thirteen  
*kharrūbah*.

Green, 24; 2.55.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XIII

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 12.

238. *One-half fals of 9 qirāṭ.*

مثقال \*  
نصف فلس  
وزن  تسعة  
قرريطر \*

Pale green, 23; 1.79.  
ANS 53.123

Similar to *EAG*, 150.

## VI. ANONYMOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED DISK-WEIGHTS<sup>73</sup>

239. [*2 wuqīyah?*].

Illegible four or five line legend within square imprint.

Yellowish green with 4 cobalt splotches, 48; thickness, 17; square imprint, 20; 58.55 (intact).

This piece might possibly date from the Fāṭimid period,<sup>74</sup> but the general outlines of the epigraphy suggest a 3rd century date.

240. [*Wuqīyah*].

Traces of 2-line legend, possibly:

الوفا  
له

Bluish green, 44; thickness, 12; circular imprint, 24; 31.50 (intact, but pitted and partly flaked).  
ANS (E.T. Newell Coll.)

241. [*Wuqīyah*].

Traces of 3(?) -line legend.

Yellowish brown, 44 × 41; thickness, 11; rectangular imprint, 21 × 19; 29.30 (intact, but chipped on the reverse).  
ANS (E.T. Newell Coll.)

<sup>73</sup> Arranged in descending order of weight.

<sup>74</sup> The splashes of color are characteristically Fāṭimid, but the large square imprint is typical of the earlier weights. Cf. M. Jungfleisch, "Poids fatimites en verre polychrome," in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, X (1927-1928), pp. 19-31.

242. [*Wuqīyah*].

Traces of 2 or 3-line legend.

Yellowish brown, gray and iridescent patina, 36; thickness, 15; rectangular imprint, 15 × 14; 28.79 (intact, but chipped and worn).

ANS 56.163

243. [*One-half wuqīyah*?].

A. Large square imprint with traces of 4(?) -line legend, including a star; B. Small circular stamp at side, wholly effaced.

Green, 43 × 39; thickness, 8; stamp A: 34; stamp B: 12; 17.98 (intact, but slightly worn).

ANS 46.134

244. [*One-half wuqīyah*?].

No trace of legend.

Pale dirty green, 36; thickness, 9; circular imprint, 18; 16.86 (intact, but slightly worn).

ANS (Nies Coll.)

245. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

.....	ما امر	Among those things ordered....
.....	مير مواح(?)	mīr MWAḤ (?)....
.....	اطال الله [بقاه؟]	May Allāh prolong his life?
.....		.....

Green, 37; thickness, 9; circular imprint, 22; 16.11 (intact).

ANS 54.175

PLATE XIII

246. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

بركة	Blessing
من الله	from Allāh;
واف	full weight.

Yellowish green, 35; thickness, 11; deep square imprint, 13; 15.85 (intact, but slightly worn).

ANS 54.15

PLATE XIII

Unpublished. Probably 3rd century.

247.-248. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

على يدى	At the hands of
يوسف (٢) بن	Yūsuf (?) b.
.....	..... (short and crowded)

247. Dirty green, 30; thickness, 11; circular imprint, 14; 14.67 (intact).  
ANS 56.13

248. Bluish green, 31; thickness, 10; circular imprint, 13; 14.62 (intact).  
ANS 54.175

249. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

Traces of 2 (?) -line legend.

Bluish green with brown patina, 32; thickness, 11; circular imprint, 14; 14.52 (intact).  
ANS

250. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

Legend effaced.

Dirty yellowish green, 32; thickness, 10; square imprint, 13; 14.14 (intact, but slightly worn).  
ANS (Nies Coll.)

251. (*Qualified?*) *wuqīyah*.

Stamp A (center):

وقبة	<i>Wuqīyah</i>
*	.....
كل	full weight.
واق	

Stamp B (at right): effaced.

Pale blue-green, oval, 42 × 38; thickness, 5; stamp A: 30; stamp B: 15; 11.02 (intact, but slightly chipped).  
ANS 56.8

8 Miles

## VII. ANONYMOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED RING-WEIGHTS<sup>75</sup>

### 252. *Uncertain weight.*

Large ring-weight with single square 4 or 5-line imprint on top, entirely effaced; marks of die-prongs at either side of imprint.

Gray-green,  $82 \times 83 \times 55$ ; imprint, 31; 725.00 (intact, but slightly chipped and flaked).  
ANS 54.154

### 253. *Uncertain weight.*

...ا...ه (؟)

.....  
.....

Four prong marks, two on each side of imprint.

Dirty gray-green,  $55 \times 34 \times 52$ ; rectangular imprint,  $22 \times 20$ ; 194.62 (intact, but slightly chipped and flaked).  
ANS 48.98

PLATE XIII

The three-line legend appears to be quite legible but I have been unable to decipher it. The characters are typical of the mid-3rd (9th) century.

### 254. *Uncertain weight.*

عبار  
رشف (؟)  
المعري (؟)

Standard of  
.....  
al-Mu'amari (?).

<sup>75</sup> Arranged in descending order of weight.

Green (with gray core),  $56 \times 35 \times 61$ ; circular imprint, 24; 171.00 (intact, but severely flaked).  
ANS (E.T. Newell Coll.) PLATE XIII

The glass is imperfectly fused and the surface has flaked off almost completely on all faces except the top (where the stamp is impressed) and part of the bottom, which bears an effaced circular imprint, traces of which suggest that the stamp was the same as that on the top. The exposed core is heavily pitted and has the appearance of slag.

This anomalous piece is difficult to date. The epigraphy is semi-cursive in character, and this feature together with the use of the word عيار, 'ayār, which does not appear on any of the early datable glass, so far as I know, suggests a late 3rd century, or even a later, date. For another occurrence of the word 'ayār, on a type of weight which I have tentatively assigned to 288 H., see below, nos. 260–261.

255. *Two wuqīyah(?)*.

.....	.....
[..الوفا لله؟]	[...honesty to Allāh?
[وقيتين؟]	two wuqīyah?]
ك...	.....

Blue-green,  $50 \times 45 \times 29$ ; circular imprint, 23; 96.40 (intact, but slightly chipped).  
ANS 54.15

256. *Uncertain weight*.

.....	.....
مولى امير	mawlā of the Commander
المؤمنين	of the Believers,
.....	.....

Green, iridescent patina, top, most of one side and part of the other,  $40 \times 31 \times 50+$ ; circular imprint, 29; 86.85+.  
ANS 54.164

8\*

257. *Uncertain weight.*

Traces of 3 or 4-line legend.

Green, frg. of top only,  $46+ \times 36+ \times 19+$ ; rectangular imprint,  $31+ \times 24+$ ; 43.61+.

ANS 54.175

The epigraphy appears to be late 2nd (8th) century.

258.–259. *Great wuqīyah.*

وقبة	<i>Wuqīyah,</i>
كبير	great,
واف	full weight.

258. Green, gray patina, frg. top and part of one side,  $30 \times 22 \times 38+$ ; circular imprint,  $20 \times 18$ ; 27.86+.

ANS 56.98

259. Green, frg., top and part of sides;  $36 \times 20 \times 18+$ ; circular imprint, 20; 16.78+.

ANS 51.119

PLATE XIII

Similar to *University College*, 252.

260.–261. *Weight of the standard of the year 88.*

٧ قل عيار سنة ثمان و ثمانين *	Weight standard of year eight and eighty.
--	---

260. Gray-green, top and part of sides only,  $38 \times 23 \times 28+$ ; oblong imprint,  $26 \times 20$ ; 25.30+.

ANS (E.T. Newell Coll).

PLATE XIII

261. Pale amber, oval lump,  $33 \times 28$ ; thickness, 9; (12.52).

ANS

The first of these two pieces is unmistakably a fragment of a ring-weight of normal shape; its small size, however, as well as the legend, discussed below, is unusual. The second specimen, while bearing a stamp identical with the first, is

entirely anomalous in that there are no traces of fracture either at the sides or on the bottom, and its classification here as a ring-weight is justified only on the grounds of convenience in view of the identical legend. The wrinkled bottom of the piece is not unlike that of many disk-weights, but it differs from most of them in that it is more irregular and lumpy. Just possibly the piece was made separately to be sunk into the top of a ring-weight, and the latter operation either was not carried out or else this lump did not fuse with the main body of the weight.

Just recently two pieces with an identical stamp and legend have been published by Dr. Paul Balog.<sup>76</sup> One of these is a ring-weight (65 × 66 × 42 mm.) of which the glass is "dévitriifié, écaillé, tendre et mal brassé, d'une couleur jaune-pâle, sale, grisâtre, presque partout opaque, sauf quelques points translucides." It weighs 291.60 grams. The other is a fragment (55 × 26 × 35 mm.) weighing 105 grams, "meulé postérieurement en forme d'un bloc oblong... Ses surfaces dépolies et sa forme indiquent nettement qu'on a essayé de lui donner un aspect de pièce intacte." The description suggests analogies with our no. 261. After discussing the metrology of the ring-weight (making allowance for loss of weight through wear and comparing it with Byzantine standards) and remarking on the epigraphy, Dr. Balog concludes that the date of these pieces is indeed exactly what the engraver wrote, i.e., 88 A.H.

I wish I could agree with Dr. Balog that we have here specimens of the earliest dated Arabic glass weights to be recorded, but chiefly on the evidence of the epigraphy I am reluctantly very sceptical. Dr. Balog indicates by his drawn transcription that the legend is to be read: نقل عمل في سنة ثمان و | but an examination of the illustration of our no. 260 (Plate XIII) I think clearly demonstrates that the second

<sup>76</sup> "Deux poids forts omayyades en verre, datés de l'an 88 H.," in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXVII (1954-1955), pp. 25-30.



line reads عيار سنة ثمان و. I was at first inclined to read the word at the top as عير, but I now agree with Dr. Balog that this word is in all probability ثقل (*thiql*, "weight") and that what I had imagined to be an 'ayn is in fact a qāf with a crescent immediately above it. Aside from questioning Dr. Balog's reading of the second line I find it difficult to concur in his view that the epigraphy is similar to that of Wāsiṭ dirhems of the late 1st century of the Hijrah. The forked crochets of the *thā* and *lām* of *thiql*, and of the *alifs* of 'ayār and *thamān* appear to me to exclude an Umayyad date; and this feature, together with the use of the words *thiql* and 'ayār,<sup>77</sup> hitherto unrecorded on any glass weights, suggests to me the probability that the hundred has been omitted from the date and that either "one hundred" or more probably "two hundred" is to be supplied. I would incline toward the latter because we have nothing similar in either form or content of epigraphy around 188 A.H., and while we have no comparative material at all in glass weights for 288, the forked terminations of the letters mentioned above resemble fairly closely epigraphical traits of the Ṭulūnid weights and of certain late 3rd century Egyptian tombstones.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Thiql* appears to have no specific technical meaning. Lane (I, p. 344) gives the Arab lexicographers' definitions simply as "heaviness, weight or weightiness, ponderousness, gravity." 'Ayār means "a standard of measure or weight," "that which is made, or appointed, a standard thereof, by which to regulate or adjust it" (Lane, I, p. 2209). The only other occurrence of the word on a glass piece which has come to my attention is on no. 254, above.

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, nos. 198–201, above, and cf. G. Wiet, "Stèles coufiques d'Égypte et du Soudan," *Journal Asiatique*, 1952, p. 295, no. 19 (pl. I, at left), dated 264 A. H.; also G. C. Miles, "Early Islamic Tombstones from Egypt," *Ars Orientalis* II (1957), pp. 215–226, especially nos. 1, 4, 5, 9, 11 and 14, all dated in the 3rd century H. As for the omission of the century in writing the date on glass pieces, there are analogies in later periods: e.g., Mamlūk weights or tokens, *BM*, nos. 337–390, *passim*.

## VIII. ANONYMOUS VESSEL STAMPS

262.-263. *Qist of olive oil.*

قسط	<i>Qist</i>
... زيت وا... .	of <i>zayt</i> , full [measure].

262. Green, 20.  
ANS 54.175

263. Green, 20 × 17 (fragmentary inscription).  
ANS 54.184

Possibly similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 47-49, read قسط زيت فيه.

264.-265. *Qist of pure olive oil.*

قسط	<i>Qist</i>
زيت	of <i>zayt</i> ,
نقيس	pure.

264. Green, 19.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE XIII

265. Green, 18 (fragmentary inscription).  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 50.

266.-267. *One-half of one-quarter qist.*

نصف  
ربع  
قسط

266. Green, 26 × 24.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE XIII

267. Green, 23.  
ANS 54.159

Similar to *EAG*, 176–178; *Cairo*, 270.

268. *Measure of lupine.*

...ك...	[Mea]s[ure]
.....ز	of <i>turm[us]</i> .

Pale blue-green, 21 × 17.  
ANS 54.175

Probably similar to *EAG*, 182. For *turmus*, “lupine,” see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 14–15.

269. *Measure of dessicated pomegranate.*

مكيل	Measure of
جلنار	<i>jullanār</i> ,
محشوش	dessicated.

Pale blue-green, 33.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XIII

Similar to Grohmann, no. 1. He read جلبان, *julubbān* or *jilbān*, translating “Erbsen,” and rendered the adjective as محسوس, “gedorrter.”<sup>79</sup> It would seem to me, however, that محشوش (*maḥshūsh*) is a more likely reading of the second word, and the meaning remains the same. The stem حشّ

<sup>79</sup> He refers to *Fouquet Collection*, no. 102 and p. 367, footnote 5, where Casanova cited ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l’Égypte* (transl. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, 1810, p. 398) for the use of this adjective.

has the fundamental significance, "dried up."<sup>80</sup> As for the substance, the word *julubbān* (*jilbān*),<sup>81</sup> "chickling vetch," can of course be read, but I doubt that this seed or blossom was sold by the druggists and I suggest that *jullanār* (identical in Kufic letters) is the proper reading. The seed of "chickling vetch" or *Lathyrus sativus* of the family *Leguminosae*, while cultivated and naturalized widely in Europe and the Near East and used as a food for both man and animals, produces, when taken too freely, a condition known as *lathyrismus*, a paralysis of the muscles of the lower extremities.<sup>82</sup> The reading جلابان should therefore, I believe, be eliminated from the list of pharmaceutical materials of which the names are preserved on glass measures.<sup>83</sup>

Various elements of the pomegranate (*jullanār*), however, are recognized to have medicinal properties. Dioscorides recommended the fruit, flower and rind, especially as astringents; so also al-Ghāfiqī, and Ibn al-Bayṭār (citing various authorities) speak of the astringent and desiccative effects of the flower.<sup>84</sup> Today the medicinal value of the bark (*Granati cortex*), both of the stem and of the root, of *Punica Granatum* is scientifically recognized. The *Dispensatory*, for example, referring to its use in the treatment of tape-worm, states: "The efficacy of its alkaloids as taeniocides has been abundantly confirmed, and it appears to be established that

<sup>80</sup> Lane, I, p. 573.

<sup>81</sup> Lane, I, p. 440; Bedevian, p. 353, no. 2043; Schweinfurth, p. 62; Muschler, p. 547.

<sup>82</sup> *Dispensatory*, p. 1733. An alkaloid has been found in the seed which paralyzes both the central nervous system and the peripheral motor nerves.

<sup>83</sup> *EAG Suppl.*, p. 49.

<sup>84</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. I, 151–153 (Gunther, pp. 80–81); al-Ghāfiqī, pp. 105 and (translation and commentary) 370–371; ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. 23<sup>1</sup>, p. 358, no. 494. Lane (I, p. 446) translates this entertaining bit of classical Arabic lexicography: "It is said that whoever swallows three grains of it, of the smallest that may be, on the condition of his taking them with his mouth from the tree, before their opening, at sunrise, on a Wednesday, will not have ophthalmia in that year."

the tannate of the alkaloids is the most effective and least dangerous form of the remedy.”<sup>85</sup>

The name itself is, of course, of Persian origin, *gul-i anār*, “flower of the pomegranate.” The common Arabic name is رمان, *rummān*.<sup>86</sup>

The use of the word *mikyal*, in place of the usual *mikyalah*, for “measure,” is noteworthy on this stamp.

270. *Measure of white sesame-seed.*

مكيلة  
جلجلان ابيض

Green, 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 180; *Cairo*, 307; Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (see *EAG Suppl.*, p. 47). For the pharmaceutical uses of sesame-seed, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 18–19.

271. *Measure of fresh (?) chick-peas.*

مكيلة  
حمص الباسر

Measure of  
*himmaṣ*, . . . . . (?).

Brownish green, 32.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XIII

Measures for chick-peas are quite common: cf. *EAG Suppl.*, 24, and *ibid.*, p. 23, for the alleged medicinal properties of

<sup>85</sup> *Dispensatory*, pp. 1797–8; cf. Allport, pp. 217–218; Grieve, II, pp. 649–650 (where also the demulcent property of the seed, and the mildly astringent character of the fruit, are mentioned); Lloyd, pp. 156–158 (summarizing the official recognition of the rind and of the bark of the stem and root from 1820 onward).

<sup>86</sup> Lane, I, p. 1161; al-Ghāfiqi, p. 371; Schweinfurth, pp. 76, 151; Muschler, p. 673; Bedevian, p. 494, no. 2880; Ahmed Issa, p. 151. Cf. Garbers, pp. 208–209, 317–318.

*himmaṣ*. The qualification, however, is uncertain. The word here is similar to that on a piece in *Cairo*, 304, and the same as *Fouquet Collection*, 76, which Casanova read *البام* (?), "gras," but the word on that specimen is not completely preserved. Mme Launois suggested a word deriving from *بشر*, "peel." I propose, without much confidence, the stem *بر*, meaning "to be fresh" or "to begin to ripen,"<sup>87</sup> but the word is unfamiliar except with the meaning "frowning" or "contracted."<sup>88</sup>

272. *Measure of red lentils.*

مكيكة

عدس احمر

Green, 28.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 179. The pharmaceutical uses of *‘adas aḥmar*, "red lentils," are discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 45-46.<sup>89</sup>

273. *Measure of whey (?)*.

مكيكة

المش (?)

Measure of  
*al-mishsh* (?).

Green, 31 × 25.

ANS 54.175

Probably similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 93 and 93 *bis*, and to *Cairo*, 271, none of which is illustrated. *University College*, 224, appears to be the same, and the present specimen also

<sup>87</sup> Lane, I, p. 202.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>89</sup> The reference in *EAG Suppl.*, p. 45, footnote 83, to *EAG*, no. 58, is mistaken: the latter is a specimen of a measure for black lentils.

seems to have a letter which I read as *mīm*. I should imagine, however, that all these are to be read *al-mishsh* (?), as on nos. 85 and 117–119, above, *q.v.*

274. *Measure of* .....(?).

... مكي

Measure

... الله

of .....

Green, 31.

ANS 56.8

PLATE XIII

This cannot be *mishsh*, because there is very definitely another letter after what appears to be the definite article; and this letter, being of equal height with the second, would seem to be another *lām*. The surface “swirls” of glass have obliterated the end of the line.

275.–276. *Pious expression.*

الو

ف الله

275. Green, 25 × 23.

ANS 54.159

276. Green, 18.

ANS 54.175

Similar to *EAG*, 189–190.

277.–280. *Pious expression.*

الوفا

له

و

277. Green, 24 × 19.

ANS 54.159

278. Green, 25.  
ANS 54.159

279. Green, 25.  
ANS 56.8

280. Green, 24.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 187–188, where the crescent is lacking (off the piece); and to *Cairo*, 260, where the crescent is omitted from the transcription but is evident in the plate.



## IX. UNDECIPHERED VESSEL STAMPS

281.-292. Twelve fragmentary, obscure or illegible vessel stamps. Here and there a word is legible, but no useful purpose is served in describing each piece individually.

These pieces have the following accession numbers:

53.123

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54.175 (3)

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# NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

*Number* 142

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## NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating  
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# The Secret of the Good Samaritan Shilling

Supplemented  
with Notes on Other Genuine and Counterfeit  
Massachusetts Silver Coins

BY ERIC P. NEWMAN



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK  
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TO THE MEMORY  
OF MY FRIEND  
F. C. C. BOYD (1886—1958)





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## FOREWORD

The evidence provided by coins themselves sometimes escapes notice and evaluation for long periods. Occasionally deductions from such evidence are completely mistaken and demonstrably opposed to the evidence as is shown by the early conclusions regarding the Good Samaritan shilling. The presentation which follows is due to a patient and careful gathering and sifting of all of the evidence obtainable and the result is a convincing demonstration which is its own commendation. I am happy to have the opportunity to welcome this solution to some of the long-standing problems which have vexed the students of American numismatics.

SYDNEY P. NOE



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## THE GOOD SAMARITAN SHILLING

The Good Samaritan shilling has been a subject of mystery and active controversy for over two hundred years. The two varieties of this major rarity are attributed by some to the first mint in the American colonies and by others rejected as spurious fabrications, leaving a numismatic issue of primary importance unresolved. The facts from which a proper conclusion may be drawn have never been known, so that unsupported opinions and theories have predominated in all prior writing on the subject. Numismatic literature, including modern catalogues, have left the matter open for further research by admitting the existing uncertainty.

As to the economic and political history of the coinage of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay the *Early Coins of America* by Sylvester S. Crosby<sup>1</sup> still stands as accurate and comprehensive. As to the varieties of the silver coinage, their chronology and the operation of the mint, Sydney P. Noe's three monographs covering the New England, Willow, Oak and Pine Tree silver coinage are recognized as the authoritative work,<sup>2</sup> superseding the sections on them in Crosby.

Crosby unqualifiedly accepts one variety of the Good Samaritan shilling as genuine and although illustrating the other variety quotes the opinion of another and does not personally comment upon it. Noe on the other hand does not comment upon either of the controversial Good Samaritan shillings, having technically excluded them in the titles of

<sup>1</sup> Sylvester S. Crosby, *Early Coins of America* (Boston, 1873), pp. 25-114.

<sup>2</sup> Sydney P. Noe, *The New England and Willow Tree Coinages of Massachusetts* (New York, 1943), NNM No. 102; *The Oak Tree Coinage of Massachusetts* (New York, 1947), NNM No. 110; *The Pine Tree Coinage of Massachusetts* (New York, 1952), NNM No. 125.



his work. Noe only mentions Thomas Wyatt's reproduction of the Good Samaritan shilling and the illustrations from which it was copied.<sup>3</sup> Noe has therefore left an opening in his studies which this monograph is intended to fill.

As will be subsequently explained in detail, each of the two distinct varieties of the Good Samaritan shilling is unique. The first known piece was in the collection of Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke, and is illustrated at the top of PLATE I. It has the legend FAC SIMILE within the circle surrounding the scene of the Good Samaritan and will be referred to herein as the Pembroke shilling. The second specimen was in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell of New York City and is illustrated on PLATE II. It does not contain any legend within the circle surrounding the scene of the Good Samaritan and will be referred to herein as the Bushnell shilling. The reproduction of the Good Samaritan shilling distributed by Thomas Wyatt will be referred to as the Wyatt copy and is illustrated on PLATE IV.

It is fundamental to point out that there is no information whatsoever in the records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony concerning the Good Samaritan shilling. This was verified in 1857 when the diary of John Hull, mintmaster of the Boston mint, was published after a thorough search for all collateral material.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *The New England and Willow Tree Coinages of Massachusetts*, pp. 50, 51, 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary of John Hull*, American Antiquarian Society Transactions, Vol. III (1857), p. 306.

## THE PEMBROKE COLLECTION

Thomas Herbert (1656–1733), eighth earl of Pembroke, was an avid collector of Greek and Roman as well as English coins. The coins of the English colonies in America were included in the English part of his famous collection. During his lifetime, illustrations of each coin in this large collection were engraved on 308 copper plates by Niccolo Francisco Haym (1670–1730), a numismatist and bibliographer from Rome. Haym had previously prepared *Del Tesoro Britannico* (London, 1719–20) in which he stated that the Earl of Pembroke's collection "in the country" has not been engraved. This statement, no doubt, had its effect in encouraging the Earl thereafter to employ Haym to undertake the project. When the Earl died in 1733 the plates had not been published and his son, having no interest in numismatics, presented all of the plates to the Earl's valet. In 1746, prints from the plates were offered for sale for the benefit of the valet at 4 guineas per set.<sup>5</sup> There was no accompanying text. The publication had one title covering the Ancient coins<sup>6</sup> and another title covering English, Scottish and other coins.<sup>7</sup> There is some-

<sup>5</sup> Jacob Henry Burn, *London Tradesmen's Tokens* (London, 1855), p. xii note.

<sup>6</sup> *Numismata Antiqua in tres partes divisa collegit olim et aeri incidi vivens curavit Thomas Pembrochiaie et Montis Gomerici Comes Prelo demum mandabantur A.D. MDCCXLVI.* (Ancient Coins divided into three parts which Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery collected in the past and preserved during his lifetime by copper engravings and which were previously ordered to the press, 1746).

<sup>7</sup> *Nummi Anglici et Scotici cum aliquot Numismatibus recentioribus collegit Thomas Pembrochiaie et Montis Gomerici Comes.* (English and Scottish Coins with other numismatic material collected by Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery).

times found at the end of the combined publication an index of the general content of the plates which index was prepared for private distribution by Joseph Ames, a celebrated antiquary.<sup>8</sup> This publication is generally known as the "Pembroke Plates" and has the distinction of being the first numismatic publication illustrating American coins.

The Pembroke collection was left with his bankers<sup>9</sup> and remained in safekeeping for over a century until it was sold at auction by Sotheby & Co. in London, from July 31 to August 12, 1848. The sale catalogue was prepared by Thomas Burgon, who was at that time recognized as an authority on Greek and Roman coins.

The following American colonial coins were in the collection, having been illustrated in the Pembroke collection plates and sold in the auction:

	<i>1746 Catalogue Part 4, Plate No.</i>	<i>1848 Sale Lot No.</i>
Good Samaritan shilling	14	229
New England shilling	11	231
Pine Tree shilling	14	230
Oak Tree sixpence	14	230
Pine Tree threepence	14	230
Oak Tree twopence	14	230
Lord Baltimore sixpence	14	229
Lord Baltimore groat (holed)	14	229
Carolina Elephant Token (holed)	14	231
James II $\frac{1}{24}$ real for the Plantations	21	231
St. Patrick farthing	20	210

The Pembroke Good Samaritan shilling along with the two Lord Baltimore pieces were bought for 38 shillings by Cureton, a London coin dealer representing the British Museum where the coin now remains. For price comparison

<sup>8</sup> *Gentlemen's Magazine*, Vol. 184 (Nov., 1848), p. 520.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Hawkins, *The Silver Coins of England* (London, 1841), p. 4.

it can be noted that the New England shilling and the Carolina Elephant token together brought 32 shillings.

The illustration of the Good Samaritan shilling in the 1746 Pembroke plates is shown on PLATE I herein.

The unusual features of the drawing are:

1. Only MAS of the circular legend on the obverse border and ENGLAND • AN of the circular legend on the reverse border are shown, the balance of the lettering being represented by large dots.
2. There is no circle outside the circular legend on either obverse or reverse.
3. The inner circle on the obverse is a solid line while the inner circle on the reverse is dotted.
4. There is a large O below the denomination on the reverse.
5. The words, FAC SIMILE, are above the scene of the Samaritan.

Each of these features is very important in light of subsequent considerations and can be explained by a comparison with the Pembroke shilling itself.

An examination of the Pembroke shilling (PLATE I) in the British Museum collection shows that the coin is clearly a counterstamped genuine Massachusetts Pine Tree shilling. The die variety of the basic shilling (PLATE I) is Noe 25 (Crosby 16-0), which is easily recognizable by a die break on the reverse from the top of the right upright of N in AN through the dot to the lower part of the upright of the D in DO. The basic coin shows extensive wear and smoothing so that only the letters shown in the Pembroke illustration are readable. The basic coin was filed or clipped while in circulation so that the circles of dots outside the circular legends are not visible. The smoothing of the surface was probably undertaken to make the overstriking clearer. The counterstamp being smaller than the coin left a circular line on the coin corresponding to the perimeter of the counterstamp.

Outside this line the surface is higher than on the inside. This accounts for the drawing showing a linear inner circle inside the circular legend on the obverse and a dotted circle inside the circular legend on the reverse. When the shilling was counterstamped on the obverse it was laid on a flat hard surface resulting in the reverse being crushed. The die depression on the reverse of Noe 25 appearing as a dot below the right side of the X of XII was spread to such a large size that it was shown as an O in the drawing. The words FAC SIMILE are clearly a part of the counterstamp and were not separately added to the counterstamped coin.

## THE MEANINGS OF FAC SIMILE

It has never been pointed out that the legend, FAC SIMILE, could be a modification of the expression, FAC SIMILITER, as used at the conclusion of the Good Samaritan story in the Bible. In that familiar story as written in Chapter X of the Gospel of St. Luke, Jesus relates that a traveller was robbed, stripped and wounded on a journey. Two others ignored the traveller as they passed him, but a Samaritan, who was riding by on a donkey did not pass, but dressed the traveller's wounds, put him on the donkey and took him to an inn where the Samaritan arranged to pay the expenses. Jesus then tells his listener, *Go, and do thou likewise*. The Latin (Vulgate) version of this advice is *Vade et tu fac similiter*. The words, *fac similiter*, translated into their simplest form mean *Do likewise*. If the word *similiter* were changed to *simile*, the expression would be translated literally as *Do a similar thing* or more liberally as *Do a similar deed*. The words, *Fac Simile*, therefore are equally applicable to the lesson to be learned from the Good Samaritan story. If therefore a reason could be found to justify a change in the motto from *Fac similiter* to *Fac Simile* the true meaning of *Fac Simile* would be evident. If a small die were being cut and only a small amount of lettering space was available then a reduction in the length of the motto without changing its meaning would have been logical and practical.

The derivation of the modern English word, facsimile, meaning an exact reproduction or copy, also came from the Latin words, *Fac Simile*, (Do a Similar thing or Make a Similar thing). *Fac Simile* was used in classical times as an expression meaning a reproduction or exact copy and by 1661

had become an English expression with the same meaning.<sup>10</sup> It was written as two words in the same manner as on the Pembroke specimen. In due course it became hyphenated and by the beginning of the nineteenth century began to be used as one word.<sup>11</sup>

It is readily understandable how easily some numismatists could conclude that the words, FAC SIMILE, on the Pembroke shilling meant that it was a copy of a genuine coin and that the diemaker of the Pembroke shilling deliberately added FAC SIMILE to make certain that no one would confuse the reproduction with any genuine piece.

<sup>10</sup> *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, edited by Walter W. Skeat (Oxford, 1910).

<sup>11</sup> *A New Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford, 1901).

## THE SOURCE OF THE COUNTERSTAMP

Since a punch or die was used to produce the Good Samaritan scene on the Pembroke shilling, it is clear that no coinage die would have been cut to a size only sufficient to cover the area within the inner circle of a Pine Tree shilling. It would have been the full size of the coin for which it was intended, and would have had a further legend as to either the issuer, the date or the denomination. Thus the conclusion that the die was used for counterstamping rather than for coining is logical. The probability that such a counterstamp might have been prepared for some other use is justified, since no other coin is known to be so counterstamped. That use must have been prior to the death of Haym in 1730. Could that other use have had a connection with Massachusetts or with coinage? What was that use?

The first inquiry was to determine if the artist's conception of the scene of the Good Samaritan was similar to the style of any other artist. Rembrandt's painting and etching of the Good Samaritan, dated 1633, depicted the transfer of the wounded man from the donkey into the inn. William Hogarth's painting of the Good Samaritan, done in 1736 for St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, has the Good Samaritan and a dog on the left and in the background the two people who passed the injured traveller without helping him. The central portion of this picture was copied by John Johnson in 1797 for a signboard for the Boston Dispensary.<sup>12</sup> While this signboard has the injured traveller, the Good Samaritan, a donkey and a tree, as does the Pembroke shilling, their positions are completely at variance.

<sup>12</sup> Nina Fletcher Little, "The Good Samaritan," *Antiques*, Vol. LXX, No. 4 (Oct., 1956), p. 360 and Vol. LXXI, No. 2 (Feb., 1957), p. 149.



A seal for the Pennsylvania Hospital which was founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1751 and is the oldest hospital in America, was cut by Christian Gobrecht (1787–1844) showing the injured traveller being removed from the donkey by the Good Samaritan and the innkeeper. It contains the biblical quotation "Take Care of Him and I will Repay Thee."<sup>13</sup>

No painted prototype of the counterstamp has been found as yet.

In the index to *Notes and Queries* under "Mottoes" Miss Elizabeth Tindall, Research Librarian, at the Mercantile Library in St. Louis, found the words, *Fac Similiter*. While this differed from *Fac Simile* it was the first and only clue. The text to which it referred was an article entitled, "The Royal Society's 250th Anniversary," written by John Collins Francis in 1912. It indicated that the motto *Fac Similiter* and the Good Samaritan were adopted as the Seal of the Royal Society of London in 1664. A request to The Royal Society for a copy or impression of the seal brought an answer indicating that the only seal of the Royal Society was a coat of arms with the motto NULLIUS IN VERBA which was adopted in 1663 and up to the present has never been changed; that any seal containing the Good Samaritan and *Fac Similiter* had no connection with the Royal Society. The reference given by John Collins Francis was therefore checked and was found to be an excerpt from the *Diary of John Evelyn* for November and December, 1664 which, omitting irrelevant text, was as follows:<sup>14</sup>

15: To Lond. We chose our Treasurer, Clearks, Messengers, appointed our seale, which I ordered should be the good Samaritan, with this motto, fac similiter: 16: I went to our Society at Gr: Colledge. 17: We sate on Commission againe these two daies: \* \* \* 22. To London: Painters hall in Lond: lent us to meete in: \* \* \*

<sup>13</sup> A. R. Frey, "Christian Gobrecht," *The Numismatist*, Vol. 24 (December, 1911), p. 418.

<sup>14</sup> *Diary of John Evelyn* edited by Austin Dobson (London, 1906), p. 219.

23: Our Statutes (now finished) were read before a full assembly of the R: Society: \* \* \*

24. I dined with the Commissioners for Sick & Wounded, & sate at Painters hall: \* \* \* 29: To Lond: about our Commission, which I received sign'd by all the Lords of the Council, together with our Instructions:

30: We met at the Ro. Society, and chose Officers according to our new establish'd Statu(t)es: \* \* \*

December 2. Sir William D'Oylie & myselfe delivered the Pr: Councils letters to the Governors of St. Thomas Hospital in Southwark, that a mo(ie)tie of the house should be reserved for such sick & wounded as should from time to time be sent from the Fleete, during the War: This being dellivr(e)d at their Court, the President & severall Alderman Governors of that Hospital invited us to a greate feast in Fishmong(e)rs hall: I return'd hom that Evening:

John Evelyn (1620–1706), art patron, politician, traveller, horticulturalist, arboriculturalist, commissioner of the Royal Mint, devotee of the English Church and advocate of increased availability of hospital care is best known, as is his contemporary, Samuel Pepys, as a diarist. Evelyn was involved in so many activities that it is not clear from the text quoted above what organization adopted the seal of the Good Samaritan. A modern restudy of Evelyn's diary<sup>15</sup> shows that The Commission of Sick and Wounded and Prisoners was being referred to, since that commission held meetings at Painter's Hall in London where the Royal Society also met. The choosing of officers and employees, the adoption of the seal and the reading of the statutes are now interpreted to refer to the activities of that Commission.

The Commission of Sick and Wounded and Prisoners was an outgrowth of the fighting between the English and the Dutch. During the last half of the seventeenth century England was in competition with Holland for the commerce and control of the East Indies, the West Indies, the West

<sup>15</sup> *Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E. S. DeBeer (Oxford, 1956), p. 390.

African coast and the American continent. England was also in a struggle with France and Spain for commercial power in the Western hemisphere. The first war with Holland from 1652 to 1654 consisted primarily of naval engagements and left the issues unresolved. In the course of that war a commission was set up in England to look after the sick and wounded sailors, but it could do little work because of lack of appropriated funds. Following a war with Spain (1656 to 1659) and the settlement in 1662 of a conflict with the Barbary Pirates, the English resumed the taking of Dutch prizes. On September 8, 1664, when the British navy forced a surrender of New Amsterdam they provoked the Second war with Holland. On October 28, 1664, when this war was imminent the Privy Council created The Commission of Sick and Wounded and Prisoners. Four commissioners including John Evelyn were informally appointed on October 30, 1664, and officially appointed on November 11, 1664.<sup>16</sup>

The enthusiasm and ability of Evelyn to provide permanent medical facilities for the English navy resulted in the commission's continuing long after the discharge of the men who were engaged in the Second War with Holland. The Third War with Holland (1672-4) which resulted in the final transfer of New Amsterdam to the English and the war with France (1689-97), known as King William's War in America, provided new patients to be cared for and the activities of the Commission continued into the eighteenth century.

Many hospitals and infirmaries throughout the world have been named for the Good Samaritan. The selection of a seal for the commission consisting of the Good Samaritan and the motto FAC SIMILITER, as stated in the diary of John Evelyn for November 15, 1664, was therefore fitting and proper.

<sup>16</sup> J. J. Shaw, "The Commission of Sick and Wounded and Prisoners, 1664-1667," *Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. 25 (1939), p. 306.

The seal of an official public organization would ordinarily be easy to locate, assuming that such a seal was made. The detailed accounts retained by the British Public Records office contain the following entry in the Audit Office Account of the Commissioners of the Sick and Wounded and Prisoners for the period from November 11, 1664 to March 25, 1668:<sup>17</sup>

“Martin Johnson for graveing of seals—X li”

(Martin Johnson for engraving of seals—£10)

It is therefore established that one or more seals were actually made for the Commission close to the time when Evelyn's diary indicates authorization was given. To locate a seal from the identical die used to counterstamp the Pembroke shilling would be conclusive. If, however, a similar seal could be found which contained the scene of the Good Samaritan and the motto reworded as FAC SIMILE instead of what John Evelyn's diary stated, then the source of the counterstamp on the Pembroke shilling would nevertheless be solved, because more than one seal was made. Obviously the scene of the Good Samaritan would have to be generally similar.

The bulk of the documents relating to the Commission's activities during and following the Second Anglo-Dutch War have not been preserved. The few remaining were sought out in the Public Records Office, the British Museum, the Naval Museum at Greenwich, the Bodelian Library and various English hospitals. With one exception there were no seals impressed upon, printed on, or attached to any document which was located.

The one exception which was located by the British Public Records Office is dated July 19, 1698, and contained the printed emblem or seal of the Commission adjacent to the following text:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> British Public Records Office, Audit Office: Declared Account Navy: Sick and Hurt: 11 November 1664–25 March 1668 (A.O. 1/1820/485).

<sup>18</sup> British Public Records Office, ADM. 106/3540: Mariner's Folder.

These are to certify, That the Bearer John Adams belonging to His Majesty's Ship Third rate was sent to this place upon the twenty second day of June, 1698 and not being cured by his own request was discharg'd hence this nineteenth day of July 1698 to go forthwith to his Ship. He has received in cloaths to the Value — and in Conduct-money —.

Witness my hand the 19th day of July, 1698

By Sam<sup>ll</sup> Evans

Appointed to take care of Sick and Hurt Seaman at Defford.

This document is illustrated on PLATE III. Its seal or emblem consisted of the scene of the Good Samaritan and the motto FAC SIMILE: (See enlargement on PLATE IV).

Not only is the motto FAC SIMILE used instead of FAC SIMILITER, but the juxtaposition of all elements in the scene corresponds with those on the Pembroke shilling. The forepart of the donkey is on the right side facing right; the tree is on the left side; the Good Samaritan is bandaging the left arm of the injured traveller who is sitting on the ground with his legs extended to the right. Of importance also is the fact that in the motto the two words are so close together as to appear as one word, FACSIMILE, indicating that the maker of the cut for the seal or emblem felt crowded in inserting the lettering and apparently shortened the last word of the motto from SIMILITER to SIMILE for that reason.

The differences between the printed seal and the Pembroke shilling counterstamp are minor. The printed seal is  $\frac{13}{16}$  inches in diameter whereas the counterstamp is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter. The tree is larger and more elaborate in the counterstamp. The ground line is higher in the counterstamp. These differences are, however, variations which an engraver would normally make if he were cutting more than one of the same design.

The printed seal or emblem is on a printed form on which the final two figures of the date are filled in by hand. Whether this form was printed long before 1698 or whether the cut

for the seal or emblem was in use on other forms prior thereto is not essential. Whether the cut for the emblem was one of the seals cut by Martin Johnson between 1664 and 1668 is also not of primary importance. The fact that the counterstamp is produced from an intaglio die and that the printed emblem was made from a positive die or line cut might indicate why payment to Martin Johnson covered more than one seal.

The inescapable conclusion is that the emblem and the counterstamp are those adopted by the Commission of the Sick and Wounded and Prisoners. The Pembroke shilling was therefore produced by counterstamping the Commission's seal on the obverse of a smoothed and worn Massachusetts Pine Tree shilling (Noe 25). This establishes the fact that FAC SIMILE on the Pembroke shilling is the motto of the Good Samaritan story and cannot be interpreted as meaning it was a reproduction.

When was this counterstamping done? The seal of the commission was adopted in 1664 and was probably made shortly thereafter. The small Pine Tree shilling on which the seal was counterstamped was coined toward the end of the Massachusetts mint operations, certainly after 1675. The coin was substantially worn during several years of circulation before being counterstamped. It was in the Pembroke collection before the death in 1730 of Haym, the engraver of the Pembroke illustrations. The counterstamping apparently took place between 1680 and 1725.

The counterstamping probably was done to produce something unusual for the Earl of Pembroke. If the person who fraudulently or jestingly used the Commission's seal had known of the problems he would create he might have restrained his impulse.

The Pembroke shilling is not the only American coin in the Pembroke collection which was artificial in part. The Pembroke specimen of the  $\frac{1}{24}$ th real James II tin farthing

for the Plantations was tampered with by having a small copper cross artificially imbedded in the center of the reverse. The cross is shown in its illustration by Haym and so described in the 1848 sale. This insertion was apparently made to simulate the copper plug in the center of the tin coinage of England under James II and others, as no other Plantation  $\frac{1}{24}$ th real has a copper plug.<sup>19</sup>

These were not the only instances where chicanery was practiced as forgeries of ancient coins were very numerous in the Pembroke collection.

<sup>19</sup> Eric P. Newman, "First Documentary Evidence on the American Colonial Pewter  $\frac{1}{24}$ th Real," *The Numismatist*, Vol. 68 (July, 1955), p. 713.

## EARLY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The earliest numismatic publications mentioning Massachusetts coinage are Ralph Thorsby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, published in London in 1715, followed by Stephen Martin-Leake's *An Historical Account of English Money* published in 1726. Although the former suggested that the NE on the New England coinage might be an abbreviation for Newark under seige, the latter states that the Earl of Pembroke has classified them in his collection as New England coins. Pine Tree pieces are included in each book, but the Good Samaritan shilling is not mentioned by either writer.

The first bibliographical information on the Good Samaritan shilling is the illustration in the Pembroke plates as previously described.

The next publication to include the Good Samaritan shilling was prepared by Martin Folkes. Folkes, whose reputation as an antiquary was acknowledged by his presidency of the Royal Society from 1741 to 1752, published in 1745 under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, *A Table of English Silver Coins*. This table described Massachusetts and Maryland silver coinage, but did not include the Good Samaritan shilling.<sup>20</sup> It does introduce the non-existent 1652 twopence and Pine Tree penny which will be subsequently referred to.

Engraved plates illustrating the coins so described and some other pieces which came to his attention were then

<sup>20</sup> P. 98. The New England shilling and sixpence; the Lord Baltimore shilling, sixpence and groat; and Massachusetts shilling, sixpence, three-pence, twopence and penny of 1652 are mentioned. The twopence dated 1652 was an error as his subsequently prepared plates show the date as 1662. The penny was an erroneous assumption.



undertaken by Folkes, but were not entirely completed prior to his death in 1754. The Society of Antiquaries arranged for the completion of the first 42 plates which they acquired from his heirs and prepared an additional 26 plates along with an explanation of all the plates. The combined *Tables*, illustrations and explanation of the illustrations was published in 1763.<sup>21</sup> On Plate XXX which had been prepared by Folkes only the obverse of the Good Samaritan shilling appeared. Both sides of the other American and British coins were shown on Plate XXX. Since the text he wrote did not mention the Good Samaritan shilling and the reverse was omitted in the illustration it seems reasonable to assume that Folkes did not see the Pembroke shilling (the Pembroke collection being in safekeeping since 1733) and took his information from the Pembroke illustrations on their publication in 1746. The Folkes drawing of the obverse of the Pembroke shilling is shown on PLATE II herein and differs from the Pembroke illustration by the complete legend MASATHVSETS • IN • being shown instead of the unreadable part of the legend being represented by large dots. There was no change in the motto, FAC SIMILE, over the scene of the Good Samaritan.

Thomas Snelling, a coin dealer, in 1769 published information on and illustrations of the coins of the American colonies.<sup>22</sup> He copied Folkes' drawing of the obverse of the Good Samaritan shilling and Haym's drawing of its reverse (PLATE II) and said that the piece was in the Pembroke col-

<sup>21</sup> *Tables of English Silver and Gold Coins: First published by Martin Folkes, Esq.; And now Reprinted, with Plates and Explanations, By the Society of Antiquaries* (London, 1763).

<sup>22</sup> "Miscellaneous Views of the Coins Struck by the English Princes in France, Counterfeit Sterlings, Coins struck by the East India Company, Those in the West India Colonies And in the Isle of Man \*\*\*," (London, 1769), p. 36 and Plate 4; republished as part of *Snelling on the Coins of Great Britain, France and Ireland* (London, 1823).

lection. In showing a non-existent Massachusetts twopence dated 1652, he followed the incorrect text of Folkes instead of the properly dated plate. He continued Folkes' representation of the non-existent 1652 Massachusetts penny. Fortunately, Snelling stated that he had never seen any of these three coins, therefore his misinformation on these items does not affect this study.

Rev. Rogers Ruding in 1817 borrowed the plates prepared by Folkes from The Society of Antiquaries and used them as part of his writing on English numismatics. In explaining his plates Ruding merely refers to prior publications as the source of his information on the Good Samaritan shilling.<sup>23</sup>

Joseph B. Felt, in 1839, in writing the first American publication on Massachusetts numismatics included a plate of Massachusetts coins. The top part of the plate is entitled "Fac Similes of Pine Tree Money as described in Massachusetts Records" and under it he copied off the identical drawings of the Massachusetts shilling, sixpence, threepence and twopence as shown on the Folkes plate. Felt, in the lower part of the plate, under the heading, "Fac Similes of Massachusetts Money as contained in Folkes Tables of Coins," includes both the Good Samaritan shilling, the non-existent 1652 penny and the New England shilling and sixpence. Again the Folkes plate detail is copied with one major exception. For the first time the Good Samaritan shilling was illustrated without the words FAC SIMILE on the coin (PLATE II). Since Felt used the words, *Fac Simile*, as meaning reproduction in two instances on the plate in his book as above indicated and in one instance in the text it is clear that Felt thought the words, FAC SIMILE, on the Folkes plate meant reproduction and therefore eliminated the motto

<sup>23</sup> *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* (London, 1817) and subsequent editions, p. vii.

in copying the Folkes picture.<sup>24</sup> This blunder misled many numismatists and was compounded when Thomas Wyatt made forgeries of the Good Samaritan shilling based upon Felt's drawings, as will hereafter be noted.

When the auction of the Pembroke collection took place in 1848 the Pembroke shilling was described in the sale catalogue as part of lot 229 as follows:

Massachusetts Shilling, much rubbed, but shewing on both sides the remains of the types and legends. By the dexterous use of a punch, some artist has contrived to produce on this rubbed coin, a worn representation of the group of the good Samaritan, and the words FAC. SIMILE., which has given rise to much discussion. See Rud. xxx, 10 and note m. page 368, vol. iii, Pemb. p. 4 t. 14. unique. wt. 69<sup>8</sup>/<sub>10</sub> grs.

This description was in no way questioned at the time of the sale, but the curiosity as to the source and status of the coin were natural topics for numismatic argument.

John Hickcox, the first writer on Massachusetts coinage after the Pembroke sale, corroborates Burgon's statement that the coin was counterstamped when he stated:<sup>25</sup>

In Earl Pembroke's celebrated collection was a coin having on the obverse, MASSACHVSETS IN., group of the Good Samaritan; above, FAC SIMILE; reverse, the same as on the shilling. It was ascertained after the death of the earl that the coin was spurious, having been altered from a pine tree shilling, by smoothing one side and stamping thereon the group above described.

The text of Hickcox with respect to the Pembroke shilling is sound, even though the spelling of the obverse legend is slightly inaccurate and the determination of spuriousness was over a century after the death of the earl.

Montroville W. Dickeson endeavored to describe the Pembroke shilling and in preparing his illustration followed the

<sup>24</sup> Joseph B. Felt, *An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency* (Boston, 1839), Plate opposite p. 38; text p. 249.

<sup>25</sup> *An Historical Account of American Coinage* (Albany, 1858), p. 11 note.

Snelling drawing.<sup>26</sup> Dickeson was so confused by the variation between the Ruding and Snelling drawings that he concluded that there were two specimens of the Good Samaritan shilling, one with a smooth reverse and one with the reverse shown in Snelling. Dickeson does however indicate the intense interest in the subject when he stated:

“We have given a description of this coin in all its details, because it has been the subject of so much attraction, and, also, because it occupies a place in a very celebrated collection.”

The various early numismatic publications stimulated a search by English collectors for the Good Samaritan shilling and other rare Massachusetts silver coins which were described or illustrated. Thomas Hollis (1720–1774), an English numismatist and antiquarian, was active in acquiring American Colonial coins and obtained for his collection Somers Island, Lord Baltimore and Massachusetts pieces.<sup>27</sup> He was a benefactor of Harvard University and was in constant correspondence with Reverend Andrew Eliot of Boston who was a member of the Harvard corporation. In 1767, Hollis apparently wrote Eliot for a Good Samaritan shilling, a New England sixpence, a Pine Tree penny and other items he had seen illustrated. Although this letter has not been located it is confirmed by subsequent correspondence.<sup>28</sup> On December 18, 1767 Hollis followed up his request by writing:

Pray forgive the Liberty & Trouble of the Commission concerning the *New England* coins, we Antiquaries are a quiet odd sort of People, \* \* \*

<sup>26</sup> *The American Numismatic Manual* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 63 and Plate VI, Fig. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Archdeacon Francis Blackburn, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* (London, 1780), pp. 397, 829, 830.

<sup>28</sup> Manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society; *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Series 4, Vol. 4 (Boston, 1858) p. 423; See comments of Mathew A. Stickney in *Historical Collections of Essex Institute* (Salem, 1860), Vol. II, p. 100.

To which Eliot replied on April 18, 1768:

I received your commission concerning the New England coin, with the greatest pleasure, but am greatly disappointed in the execution of it. I can find no one who hath ever heard of Massachusetts in pourtraiture of the good Samaritan. I believe it must have been a medal struck on some particular occasion. The sixpence and the penny, some tell me they have seen; but I cannot at present procure them. If they are in New England, I shall have them.

\* \* \*

I have also all other New England coin; they are all scarce except the pine-tree shillings and sixpences, which are plenty. I have several two-pence and three-pence, very well preserved. I have no use for any of these; if they will be agreeable to you, or your friends, they are entirely at your service.

On June 12, 1771, Eliot sent Hollis a New England sixpence and remarked that it was the only one he ever saw.

It can be seen from the foregoing that in 1768 the Good Samaritan shilling was unheard of by a member of the Massachusetts clergy who would have been very interested in its religious significance and by an educator who asked without success those most likely to have known about it.

## APPEARANCE OF THE BUSHNELL SHILLING

Charles I. Bushnell, of New York, in assembling his enormous collection of American coins purchased his Good Samaritan shilling early in 1859 from Charles Richard Taylor, a London coin dealer, for £8/8. The Bushnell shilling (PLATE II) was previously unknown to the numismatic world. Taylor's original letters in connection with its sale to Bushnell, although not published until 1883 are as follows:<sup>29</sup>

2 Montague St., Russell Square, W.C.  
London, July 9th, 1858.

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:

I wrote to you on the 27th May last, to inform you that I had a shilling and sixpence of Lord Baltimore, being desirous, according to my promise, of giving you the first offer of anything likely to suit you, and, awaiting your reply, I have retained them accordingly: with the same view, I have now to offer you what I conceive will interest you far more; it is nothing less than a unique variety of the Good Samaritan Massachusetts shilling. It differs materially from the one formerly in the Pembroke collection and from the other engraved in Ruding, Pl. 30, No. 10, the existence of which is now very doubtful. Ruding incorporated the plates, so far as they would go, which were engraved for the previous works of Martin Folkes, and he expressly says that he knows not on what authority it has been given. Snelling, describing the piece, says: "It is said to be in the Pembroke collection" (which was a truth); he had evidently not seen it, but, curiously enough, he copied the obverse from Folkes' plate (Ruding's) and the reverse from the Pembroke plate, thus giving a representation

<sup>29</sup> S. H. and H. Chapman, *Supplement to the Bushnell Catalogue* (Philadelphia), second page, numbered p. 138.

of a coin for which there was certainly no authority whatever, the obverse differing from the only known (Pembroke) specimen in reading "In Masachusets" in full, instead of Mas with dots in place of the remainder, and from the doubtfully existing coin of Ruding by having, instead of a blank, the reverse of that in the Pembroke.

My coin is not only unique but the most perfect. It has a well-executed representation of the Good Samaritan, and reading in full "In Masachusets"; but the subject is allowed to speak for itself, as the direction *Fac-simile* is omitted; the reverse also has an important difference, reading "In New England Ano" round the edge, and in the centre 1652—XII, without the O beneath. It is 5 grains heavier than the Pembroke one and is a perfectly genuine struck coin, the reverse die evidently in the act of breaking from a flaw which, though in this instance it obscures no part of the coin, has an appearance which renders it probable that no others be afterwards struck from it. The style of the work and lettering corresponds exactly with the pine tree shilling of the same date. I am inclined to think, from the fact of the Pembroke specimen being so imperfect in the inscription, and from mine being more complete in that respect, as well as their extreme rarity, that they were pattern or trial pieces, and for some reason not adopted by the authorities.

I notice that, in a former letter, you gave as a reason for doubting the authenticity of the Pembroke specimen that no such piece was mentioned in the records of the State; but is it not questionable whether the records of a thinly peopled State were so perfectly and accurately kept? For you state likewise there is no mention of the two-pence and three-penny pieces, pine tree coinage, but the number now known, quality and weight of silver, style of work, and relative degrees of wear, all tend to prove them to have been as authentic, and in circulation, as were the sixpences and shillings.

The catalogue describes the Pembroke specimen to have been much rubbed; mine is not so, but has been somewhat unevenly struck, the five last letters in "Masachusets" not having come up so prominently as the others.

I purchased this piece with some rare English coins, which has occasioned my incurring an unexpected outlay which I am anxious to realize with as little delay as possible, and I offer you this rarity at £8.8.0. There is no doubt but that, at the present time, I could get

much more for it, without any great difficulty, but I could not part with it until I had made you the first offer and at as reasonable a rate as I could afford. I have some intention of sending a notice of it to the "Numismatic Chronicle"; but this I would not do without consulting you in the event of your becoming its owner. I beg to assure you that you are the first person to whom I have yet intimated the existence of this piece, and as I shall preserve silence until you have had an opportunity of replying, I hope to be favored with your decision *per return*.

CHARLES RICH. TAYLOR.

2 Montagne St., Russell Square, W.C.  
London, 28th December, 1858.

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL

MY DEAR SIR:

In reply to yours of the 30th ulto. I do myself the pleasure to send for your inspection the "Good Samaritan Shilling."

I can certainly vouch for its being none of Mr. Wyatt's production; for not only is it very different, on the one side, to the rubbing you sent me of his Pine Tree Shilling, with which I have compared it, but I was told of its existence when your earliest letters first put me on enquiring for all pieces relating to America, but as it seemed hopeless to procure it, I paid little attention to the circumstance.

I am not going to recapitulate the contents of my last, but I must trouble you to say that I am by no means satisfied that the unique specimen in the Pembroke collection either was or could be in any way spurious, neither can I attach the least importance to the note to the lot describing it in the sale catalogue of that collection of 1848. That catalogue was drawn up by the late Mr. Burgon expressly on account of his being most justly considered the most competent authority on Greek and Roman Coins, to which he had exclusively directed his studies, thinking those classes alone worthy attention or appreciation.

It is also necessary to bear in mind some particulars relating to the Pembroke collection to which the newspaper extracts you sent me make no allusion. The Earl Thomas, by whom that celebrated collection was formed, succeeded to the title so early as 1683, and died



in 1733. The fourth volume of Plates issued in his name was not completed and published until 1746, by his son and successor. The collection, however, remained intact until its dispersion by the present Earl in 1848, under the superintendence of his half brother, Mr. Sydney Herbert, the Earl being a constant resident abroad, which may probably account for the collection being wholly unknown, except through the volume of 1746; indeed, it seems seldom, if ever, to have been exhibited since the decease of the original collector, for Snelling when publishing his work, had no access to it, but obtained all his information from the Plates; and, in fact, when he speaks of coins said to be existing in the Pembroke collection, acknowledges that he had no opportunity of judging for himself in the matter. I cannot, at this moment, discover the date of the birth of the Earl Thomas, but as he succeeded to his brother in 1683, and his father had died so early as 1669, the last, at the least, must have been living at the date of this coin or pattern.

I am, to a considerable extent, justified in regarding it as genuine, in the absence of anything like proofs to the contrary, as there could be no motive or interest to be gratified by fabricating a spurious piece relative to a distant possession of so very recent date as was 1652, at the time when the collection was formed.

Ruding's plate 30, first published by Folkes in 1763, is not copied from the Pembroke plate; it is altogether different, and although the specimen it purports to represent may not be now known, I cannot think that any one will venture the supposition that so eminent a gentleman and antiquary as was Sir Martin Folkes could have published such without having sufficient authority for so doing. Snelling's engraving goes for nothing, as he had seen no specimen, but finding such good authority for the existence of the piece, he could not but notice it without damage to the completeness of his work, and therefore copied the obverse from Folkes, and the reverse from Pembroke. Now comes the specimen sent herewith, differing from the Pembroke, and five grains heavier, from Folkes and also from Wyatt's even. I am quite at a loss to conceive what the inducement could be for fabricating a piece of such little interest and value; for certainly until very recently it could possess neither; yet before the least attention could be attracted to its existence, here are evidently two pieces struck from dies altogether different,—the Pembroke and mine, to

say nothing of Folkes. It could never answer to coin spurious specimens in such small quantities, as that, after the lapse of two centuries only two specimens alone should be known, and both of these unique varieties.

I am still in the belief that they were pattern pieces, struck and submitted when the issue of a coinage was first contemplated in the Colony, and this supposition will alone account for the unfinished character and rarity of these pieces, and, since they were not adopted, for the absence of any mention of them in the records. (It will be seen that the date side of the Pine Tree Shillings is different and more complete than in the corresponding side of either of the pieces in question.)

The die from which mine is struck was evidently soon broken; probably no other could have been struck from it, hence the necessity for a new one being made, even for the limited service of a pattern piece. It must be remembered that it was particularly the custom to strike pattern pieces,—witness those for the entire sets of silver for the Commonwealth coinage by Ramage and by Blondeau, the former the most beautiful, and while the design of the latter was adopted, he could hardly have been employed, as those struck for circulation were not milled, and are of much coarser workmanship. Now all these patterns were struck in 1651, and now are much in request, and always produce very high prices.

I respectfully submit these observations for your consideration, and you will take them for what they may seem to you to be worth. I am satisfied this piece is of no recent make, and what I offer in defense of its genuineness is not with any view for you to retain the piece against your judgment. I am anxious only that you should be convinced that I submit it to you in perfect good faith according to my own convictions, and that I should not trouble you at this length, or indeed had anything to do with it at all unless I felt myself free from any reasonable doubt in regard to it. \* \* \*

CHARLES RICH. TAYLOR.

It is interesting to note from the foregoing letters that Taylor unequivocally contradicts Burgon's assertion in the Pembroke Sale Catalogue that the scene of the Good Samaritan was counterstamped on the Pembroke shilling. The fact that Burgon was an authority on Greek and Roman coins was not a basis to disqualify him from recognizing a counterstamped coin. Taylor's statement carries little weight because his home at 2 Montague St., Russell Square, from which the letters to Bushnell were written, was across the street from the British Museum which, as was well known, had owned the Pembroke shilling since 1848. In addition Bushnell had expressed doubt as to the authenticity of the Pembroke shilling as Taylor's July 9, 1858, letter indicates. To have failed to examine the Pembroke shilling under these circumstances is indicative of the unreliability of Charles Richard Taylor.

Bushnell's copy of the Pembroke Sale Catalogue of 1848 in the library of the American Numismatic Society contains on the front flyleaf Bushnell's handwritten comment on Burgon's opinion of the Pembroke specimen, as follows:

He knew nothing whatever of American coins. His remarks on the Good Samaritan piece I consider of no account whatever.

Bushnell showed his collection to very few and was secretive about his acquisitions. It is therefore understandable that there is no numismatic literature on the Bushnell shilling for over a decade following his purchase of it, except Dickson's confused comment.

In 1873, Crosby, in his chapter on Massachusetts silver coinage, was the first writer to try to throw light upon the Bushnell shilling.<sup>30</sup>

It remains for us to mention one other piece belonging to this series, the genuineness of which has been doubted. We refer to the Good Samaritan shilling, whose claim to a place among the issues

<sup>30</sup> *Early Coins of America*, p. 67.

of this mint we consider as being fully established by the specimen in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

Crosby then quotes Bushnell's interesting and extensive argument in favor of the genuineness of both the Bushnell and Pembroke shillings. This was the identical reasoning used by Taylor in his letters to Bushnell and indicated that Bushnell accepted its correctness. Crosby reconfirms his confidence in the Bushnell shilling by adding after the Bushnell's argument:

We can only add to the foregoing statement that, having examined the Good Samaritan shilling, we can with confidence say that the piece is of a character agreeing with other coins of that period and bears no evidence of having been tampered with, but, on the contrary, was evidently struck from dies. A certain proof that it could have been no alteration from the common issues of that date is found in the legend upon the reverse, it being IN NEW ENGLAND • ANO :, which is found upon none of the Oak or Pine Tree Shillings.

Crosby illustrates both the Bushnell shilling and the Pembroke shilling, the latter having been copied from Snelling's illustration. It is important to note that Crosby does not comment personally on the Pembroke shilling, and does not list *FAC SIMILE* in his index of mottoes. Apparently Crosby, too, did not realize that this legend might be the motto of the scene of the Good Samaritan.

When Bushnell died in 1880 many dealers attempted to buy his collection. At that time Samuel Hudson Chapman and Henry Chapman, Jr. were respectively 23 and 21 years old and had some limited experience in the coin business with John W. Haseltine in Philadelphia. These brothers secured the right to catalogue and auction the entire Bushnell collection.<sup>31</sup> The catalogue for the sale in New York beginning June 20, 1882, contains the following description of the Bushnell shilling (Lot 145):

<sup>31</sup> John J. Ford, Jr., "Numismatica Americana, The Bushnell Sale," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (March-April, 1951), p. 35.

## THE CELEBRATED GOOD SAMARITAN SHILLING

1652. Shilling. A very good representation of the Good Samaritan attending a man by the roadside, his horse and a tree in the background. MASACHVSETS . . . . IN : Rev. 1652 XII. within a circle of dots, IN NEW ENGLAND . ANO : The die very much cracked on reverse, rendering it impossible to strike any more after this one, and it is very likely that only one impression was struck. A genuine struck coin. This celebrated piece has been known to be unique for over two hundred years, and is one of the greatest gems of this collection. It was highly prized by Mr. Bushnell, who considered it, the N.Y. doubloon and Lord Baltimore penny his most important pieces, valuing it at more than \$1,000, and we consider it worth any amount that can be paid for it. Extremely fine. See plate. Unique. There was in the Pembroke collection (formed about 1683, and sold at auction in London in 1848) a Good Samaritan shilling, differing from this in many respects, and had the word "FAC SIMILE" in the field. Our opinion is that this piece was a fabrication, engraved as a copy from probably the genuine, and very likely the present piece, and to prevent it ever passing as genuine the maker placed the word FAC-SIMILE in the field. The piece figured in Pembroke, Snelling, and Ruding is the same fabrication.

Mr. Bushnell told us that he imported this piece himself direct from England, and that there was not any doubt of its genuineness, a fact borne out in every way by the coin.

Mr. Bushnell would not permit Mr. Crosby to have this piece to place on his plates, but had an engraving made of it, which is represented on page 68, fig. 22, of Mr. Crosby's work.

The avalanche of criticism of the sale catalogue by jealous and disappointed competitors was led by Edouard Frossard who immediately pointed out that the Bushnell collection was inferior to the Mickley collection and that the sale catalogue failed to cite authorities or use good English. He points out that the pretension of the compilers that the catalogue would be a sequel to Crosby was "ridiculous." The description of the Good Samaritan shilling is cited as an ex-

ample of one of the "inextricable tangles" of the English language and quite "original in construction."<sup>32</sup>

Scott's *Coin Collector's Journal* of August, 1882, criticized "bunched lots and unfortunate mistakes" and then stated that the Bushnell shilling was "in our opinion and that of a large majority of experts an undoubted fabrication, and worth \$10.00 at the outside."

Frossard listed all of his criticisms of each lot in the sale in detail and commented as to the Good Samaritan piece with more emotion than thought:

145. Bogus and modern; why did not Bushnell say whence he obtained the piece? If from England some one must have sold it to him; but the piece is known to be a fraud from the fact that the man who bought hub No. 2844 said that he bought the hub because he had the piece.

Frossard's comment is readily shown to be wrong. In the sale catalogue there was another item relating to the Good Samaritan. It was Lot 2844, described as "Hub. Scene of the Good Samaritan 30" and sold for \$1.40 indicating it was of no relationship to the Good Samaritan shilling (Lot 145) or to Wyatt's copies of the Good Samaritan shilling and other Massachusetts silver (Lot 1140). The sale catalogue pointed out in the introduction that all hubs were steel unless otherwise described and that the sizes of hubs and dies were given in sixteenths of an inch. This would make Bushnell's Good Samaritan hub  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inches in diameter. A tin impression from this hub struck on a size 34 ( $2\frac{1}{8}$ "') planchet had appeared as Lot 1012 in the Mercer sale on December 8, 1880, and was listed under medals.

Frossard contends that "the man who bought No. 2844 said 'that he bought the hub because he had the piece.'" From this remark Frossard concludes that the Bushnell Good Samaritan "piece is known to be a fraud." This allega-

<sup>32</sup> Edouard Frossard, "The Bushnell Sale," *Numisma*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (May, 1882).

tion is completely erroneous because the size of the Bushnell hub was many times larger than the size of the Bushnell shilling on which the device is  $\frac{5}{8}$  inches in diameter and the coin itself only  $\frac{15}{16}$  in diameter. Perhaps the purchaser of the hub was referring to a Wyatt copy of the Good Samaritan shilling which he owned? In any event Frossard's conclusion is erroneous on the basis of the argument presented because of the wide divergency in size between the hub and the Bushnell shilling.

Jeremiah Colburn writing before the sale took place commented:<sup>33</sup>

As to the 'Good Samaritan' piece (145) which we suppose will probably bring a very 'fancy' price, we have always had grave doubts about its genuineness.

The Bushnell shilling was the most notorious piece in the sale, being sold to Lorin G. Parmelee for \$ 650.00, the highest price brought by any of the many rarities. While Parmelee's acquisition of it was indicative of his good opinion of the coin, it was inferred by Frossard that Parmelee had bought the entire collection before the auction and had an arrangement with the Chapmans so that instead of Parmelee withdrawing what he wanted before the sale he could bid on his own property at the auction without concern as to its sale price.

The attacks on the Bushnell shilling and upon the Chapman catalogue continued. W. Elliot Woodward in the catalogue of his 49th sale on July 11, 1882, stated:

For instance, the Good Samaritan Shilling (see Bushnell Catalogue, No. 145.) is sadly in want of a respectable pedigree: the unsupported assertion that this piece is known to be unique for over two hundred years does not fill the bill. In Crosby's work, Mr. Bushnell was allowed to meander through several pages, talking of the Pembroke Collection; of what Folkes, Ruding and Snelling said and did; and he finally begs the question, by declaring that no motive at the remote

<sup>33</sup> *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (July, 1882), p. 20.

period which he assigns to the coin could have existed for its manufacture. Mr. Bushnell had it in his power to state at least where he obtained the piece and its history so far as known; of all this he says not one word, and the piece stands to-day without a single fact in support of its authenticity. Instead of its having been known to be unique for two hundred years, I challenge any person and every person who has any interest in it to prove that it has been in existence for even forty years, and I have no doubt if its secret history could be given, that the fact would appear that it was made within that period, and probably made in New York.

Even the claim set up for it, that it resembles the work of the period is not fair, for there is no evidence that at that time any person in America was able to execute such a group as appears on the coin. The claim of authenticity in behalf of this piece is of much less weight than the argument that can be made in favor of the genuineness of the 1650 shillings. \* \* \*

There are many other pieces in this celebrated collection around which a veil of mystery has long been thrown, which, if they could be illuminated by the light of truth, would have their lofty pretensions sadly lowered—notwithstanding “*Our opinion*,” which throughout the catalogue is apparently regarded by the young gentlemen who compiled it, as amply sufficient to settle any mooted question in American numismatics.

At the time of the Bushnell sale, many must have agreed with the Chapmans’ statement in the catalogue that the Bushnell shilling was genuine and that the Pembroke shilling was a copy of it. It was stated in the *Magazine of American History*:<sup>34</sup>

A Good Samaritan shilling was sold in the English Lord Pembroke collection, formed about two hundred years ago, differing from this in some respects, and having the words FAC-SIMILE stamped upon it, and it is supposed that Mr. Bushnell’s was the original after which the latter was copied.

Many wanted further information as indicated from the following, but continued their sarcastic attack on the Chapmans:

<sup>34</sup> *The Magazine of American History*, Vol. VIII, No. 9 (Sept., 1882), p. 635.



The celebrated Good Samaritan Shilling sold for \$650; we have only to say further concerning it, that one of our editors saw it at the sale, and has no doubt that it was a fictitious piece, and was not struck in New England in the Seventeenth Century. If the Shilling was really imported from Europe, and not made in New York, its history should be easy to trace; this not even Mr. Bushnell ever pretended to do.<sup>35</sup>

Another good idea will be the publication by our learned contemporaries, the Chapmans, of correspondence to prove, beyond the shadow of doubt, the genuineness of that singular nondescript the 'Good Samaritan Shilling' of the Bushnell sale. By all means, let it be done, but in intelligible English, if possible.<sup>36</sup>

In March, 1883, the Chapmans promised to publish the correspondence between Bushnell and the gentleman from whom the coin was purchased,<sup>37</sup> and accordingly the "Supplement to the Bushnell Catalogue" was published. The Chapmans published the text of the Taylor letters heretofore quoted and reiterated their confidence in the Bushnell shilling. They realized Taylor's error in authenticating the Pembroke shilling and obtained the opinion of William Webster, a coin dealer of London, who stated, "I know well the piece that was in the Pembroke sale, Lot 229, as I was present at the sale, and the general opinion (including my own) was then as now, that it was a forgery and undoubtedly a 'made up' coin."

They then introduced in confused English their understanding of what FAC SIMILE means by concluding that they do not see how the Pembroke shilling "can be considered as anything but what is stated on its face by the maker,—a fac-simile; that the word fac-simile was intended to merely convey the idea of its being a copy of the scene of the Good Samaritan seems to us to be a misconception; for the word fac-simile is not used with this meaning." The use

<sup>35</sup> *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (Oct., 1882), p. 44.

<sup>36</sup> *Numisma*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (March, 1883).

<sup>37</sup> *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (July, 1883), p. 20.

of the expression FAC SIMILE meant to them that the Pembroke shilling was a copy of a coin (i.e., the Bushnell shilling) rather than meaning that it was a copy of some other portrayal of the Good Samaritan Story.

It was emphasized that Taylor wrote that he was told of the existence of the coin when Bushnell's first letters encouraged Taylor to seek pieces relating to America. When Bushnell first wrote is not stated but since he began to collect coins about 1850 his inquiry must have been after that date. The first knowledge of the Bushnell shilling was therefore advanced at best only a few years prior to 1858.

The final argument was that Bushnell, Crosby and Parmelee all agreed as to the genuineness of the Bushnell shilling.

The information in the Supplement did not change anyone's opinion,<sup>38</sup> but merely showed that the coin had no known pedigree.

The most important factor in assessing the value of the many challenges of the validity of the Bushnell shilling is that no attempt was made to show facts. Admittedly it is difficult to prove that an existing coin is a forgery of a non-existing coin. The proof of such a negative theory requires much more evidence than proving a positive theory. No one mentioned the possible use of FAC SIMILE as a motto; no one pointed out any of the peculiarities of the Bushnell shilling. Because of the apparent lack of pedigree of the coin and the fact that Bushnell had no supporting historical evidence other than Taylor's letters the burden of proof to show validity was assumed to be on the Chapmans. The attempted degradation of the Chapmans as new competitors was stimulating much of the attack. The lack of pedigree *per se* is no proof of spuriousness nor is the lack of historical background a condemnation.

<sup>38</sup> See: *Numisma* (Nov., 1883) Vol. 7, No. 6; *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (Oct., 1883), p. 48; No. 3 (Jan., 1884), p. 72; W. E. Woodward, Sale of the Heman Ely Collection, Jan. 8, 1884, p. 50.

Subsequent literature has made no attempt to clarify the issues concerning the Good Samaritan Shilling. *The Illustrated History of the United States Mint* published in 1885 stated that there are two unique varieties of the Good Samaritan Shilling and that they are supposed to be pattern pieces struck at the origin of the Massachusetts mint. Instead of illustrating one of the varieties mentioned, a picture of the muling of the Wyatt counterfeit of the Good Samaritan Shilling and of the Oak Tree shilling is shown.<sup>39</sup>

Edgar H. Adams, writing for *The Elder Monthly* of April, 1907, places the Good Samaritan shilling as the tenth rarest American coin.

The *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins*, since its inception in 1935, has included the Bushnell Shilling but now describes the coin as the "authentic" shilling. *A Guide-book of United States Coins*, since its beginning in 1946, has listed and illustrated the Bushnell shilling indicating that it is supposed to be a pattern.

Carl Wurtzbach, who contributed much research to the subject of Massachusetts silver, wrote in 1943 concerning the Good Samaritan Shilling,<sup>40</sup> "It is by some thought a pattern, for patterns were common in England in the 17th Century. This is not the place and time however, for a thorough discussion of the problems (including that of authenticity) raised by these extremely rare pieces."

In a series of articles published in 1944, entitled "Coins of Colonial America" it is stated that the history of the Good Samaritan Shilling is obscure and that while some consider

<sup>39</sup> George Evans, *The Illustrated History of the United States Mint* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 72 and Plate II.

<sup>40</sup> Carl Wurtzbach, "On the Massachusetts Silver Colonial Coinage," *Numismatic Review*, Vol. I, No. 1 (June, 1943), p. 12. See also: Vol. I, No. 2, p. 44.

it a genuine pattern others consider it a mutilation of a Pine Tree shilling.<sup>41</sup> Again the issue was avoided.

In the meanwhile the Bushnell shilling has continued along on its exciting career. When the famous Lorin G. Parmalee collection was sold at auction on June 25, 1890, David Proskey as cataloguer of the collection described the Bushnell Shilling (Lot 326) as genuine and illustrated it. Hillyer Ryder was the successful bidder at \$210 indicating his confidence in the coin.

In 1914, the American Numismatic Society held an Exhibition at which virtually all American Colonial rarities were assembled and Hillyer Ryder loaned the Bushnell Shilling for that purpose.<sup>42</sup> After Ryder's death in 1918, Thomas L. Elder in writing about the coin accepted it as genuine and noted that it was still in the Ryder family's possession in 1941.<sup>43</sup> Shortly thereafter the Bushnell Shilling was acquired by F. C. C. Boyd, who, by adding the Wurtzbach-Clarke collection to his other pieces, formed the most nearly complete cabinet of Massachusetts silver ever assembled.

<sup>41</sup> Phares O. Sigler, *Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (Sept.-Oct., 1944), p. 119.

<sup>42</sup> *American Numismatic Society Exhibition of United States and Colonial Coins* (New York, 1914), p. 12 and Plate 7.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas L. Elder, "Recollections of an Old Collector," *Hobbies Magazine*, Vol. 46 (March, 1941), p. 94; (Aug., 1941), p. 86.

## *UNUSUAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUSHNELL SHILLING*

The Bushnell shilling (PLATE II) weighs 74.1 grains which conforms to the normal weight of other Massachusetts shillings. Neither of the dies are found on any other coin. The reverse die breaks on the coin are so extensive as to indicate that the reverse die shattered during that striking and was no longer usable.



While the die cutting of the Bushnell shilling may be slightly superior to the cruder cutting of dies from which other Massachusetts silver are struck, one would expect such superiority in a pattern or in dies prepared by a more skillful diecutter.

The Bushnell shilling has however a few very unusual characteristics which in the course of their explanation furnish the basis of determining its status. They are as follows:

1. The scene of the Good Samaritan on the obverse is surrounded by a linear circle instead of the dotted circle. On the reverse the denomination and date are surrounded by a dotted circle. There would be no reason for a pair of dies to have two dissimilar types of circle construction. All Willow, Oak and Pine Tree coinage have dotted circles on both sides. As has been shown the Pembroke shilling had a linear circle around the scene of the Good Samaritan caused by the impression of the outer edge of the counterstamp and not as part of the design. The reverse of the Pembroke shilling being the normal Pine Tree type had a dotted circle. Since the Pembroke plates properly show a linear circle on the obverse and a dotted circle on the reverse, the inference can be drawn that because of this nonconformity the Bushnell shilling appears to be copied from the Pembroke drawing.

2. There are four large dots spread over about 90 degrees to fill the enormous gap between the words MASATHVSETS and IN in the obverse legend. These dots are midway between the inner circle and the edge. They are depressed and each contains one tiny crescent-shaped raised element. Although inexperienced diemakers can make errors in spacing legends, this gap is so unusual that a reason for the discrepancy should be sought. The illustration of the obverse of the Pembroke shilling in the Pembroke Plates (PLATE I herein) shows the legend to be MAS followed by 16 equally spaced dots midway between the inner circle and the edge. These dots indicate unreadable portions of the legend on the Pembroke shilling and the coin itself bears out that fact. If a diemaker were copying this illustration and assumed that each of the 16 dots represented a missing letter or a punctuation mark then the legend of the Bushnell shilling could result. It was obvious from other Massachusetts coinage illustrated on the same plate that part of the missing legend was the completion of the word MASATHVSETS and the addition of the word IN, and its adjacent punctuation but there was no hint as to what the other four dots stood for. Therefore ATHVSETS . . . . : IN : apparently was added in place of the 16 dots to produce the Bushnell shilling obverse die. The colon before the word IN may be only a period as this area is weak and difficult to interpret due to obverse slippage which occurred when the reverse die broke and collapsed. No other reason can be assigned to the four large depressed dots on the Bushnell shilling except that they represented part of the missing legend which the diemaker thought was indicated by the Pembroke drawing.

3. The Pembroke drawing of the reverse (PLATE I) has seven dots to indicate the unreadable portions. If the illustration were being copied and the diemaker assumed that each dot represented a letter or punctuation mark then a guess at the missing portions would have to be made. The

legend on the adjacent Oak Tree sixpence on the Pembroke plates (See PLATE V) would indicate that O: IN NEW could be properly substituted for the seven dots. If the legend on the drawing of the reverse of the adjacent Pine Tree shilling were being used to supply the unreadable portions, : DOM  NEW consisting of eight elements instead of seven would have to be used. The seven element insertion seems to have been selected, making the reverse read IN NEWENGLAND·ANO: instead of NEWENGLAND·AN:DOM  which would be the proper legend. This produced the only shilling of any variety where the word IN was repeated by being in both the obverse legend and the reverse legend. There could be no purpose in so doing when the word DOM should have been used instead of IN on the reverse. The entire legend, reading MASATHVSETS IN IN NEW ENGLAND ANO 1652 XII is therefore meaningless. There is only one other known Massachusetts coin, the Oak Tree sixpence known as Noe 19 (Crosby 3-E) which has the word IN found in the legends on each side and this variety will be subsequently shown to be a spurious coin. (See Page 46 and PLATE V).

4. There is no separate outer circle on either obverse or reverse. The General Court of Massachusetts on October 19, 1652, in order to prevent its coins from being clipped ordered all coinage to have "a double Ring on either side." This Bushnell shilling is therefore in violation of that order as it has only the one inner circle on each side. It is interesting to note that the drawing of the Pembroke shilling on the Pembroke Plates also has no separate outer circle on either side, but merely a line outlining the edge of the coin. Thus if a diecutter were copying the Pembroke drawing the separate outer circles would be omitted because the illustration omitted them. Every other Willow, Oak or Pine Tree coin has separate outer circles on each side except the Oak Tree sixpence known as Noe 19 (Crosby 3-E) which also lacks

both separate outer circles and as stated in the previous paragraph will be subsequently shown to be a spurious coin. (See PLATE V).

5. The Bushnell shilling does not contain FAC SIMILE as the motto of the Good Samaritan. If the cutter of the dies of the Bushnell shilling was copying the Pembroke drawing and felt that FAC SIMILE meant reproduction, he would have eliminated this motto in order to produce the "original" and "genuine" shilling. This omission proves that the Pembroke drawing was copied in order to produce the Bushnell shilling, since we have shown that the motto in the counter-stamp on the Pembroke shilling had an independent source related to the story of the Good Samaritan.

6. The Bushnell shilling has the scene of the Good Samaritan on the obverse in spite of the fact that the General Court Order of October 19, 1652, provides that the inscription be "Massachusetts and a tree in the Center on one side and New England and the yeere of our lord on the other side." This non-compliance might be possible if the Bushnell shilling were a pattern made prior to that order but it is unlikely that the legends and inner circles would be in compliance with the order and the device would not be. The determining factor, however, is that small shilling planchets and dies of the size used to make the Bushnell shilling were not used until about 1675.<sup>44</sup> Prior to that date the New England shillings and the Willow, Oak and Pine Tree shillings were on larger planchets and any pattern dies made prior to October 19, 1652, would have been made larger in diameter in order to strike larger planchets.

From the foregoing points one can readily conclude that the Bushnell shilling was artificially prepared by a diemaker who copied the Pembroke illustration and filled in detail from adjacent coins. That diemaker was obviously unfamiliar with actual specimens of Massachusetts silver

<sup>44</sup> *The Pine Tree Coinage of Massachusetts*, p. 7.



coinage. Above all he had no idea that FAC SIMILE was the motto of the Good Samaritan and thought that it was an indication that the Pembroke shilling was a reproduction of a genuine coin. The unusual features found on the Bushnell shilling could not have happened by coincidence if the Bushnell shilling was made without knowledge of the Pembroke shilling or a drawing of it. It is amusing to realize that the motive to coin the deceiving Bushnell shilling would never have arisen if the motto, FAC SIMILE, had been properly translated and understood.

The author would like to be a Good Samaritan in order to heal the hurt feelings caused in the course of the controversy on this subject. The souls of the Bushnell shilling and the Pembroke shilling will live forever. They may take their place as the most notorious and intriguing fabrications in American numismatics.

## THOMAS WYATT'S REPRODUCTION

Thomas Wyatt of New York was a lecturer as well as an editor and compiler of books on such varied subjects as conchology, French history, religion, natural history, poetry, geology and American military data. He enjoyed being called "Professor," a title self-conferred. His one numismatic volume, published in 1854 on the subject of American military medals, had plates engraved by William L. Ormsby, the famous banknote engraver.<sup>45</sup> In 1856, Wyatt distributed reproductions of the Good Samaritan shilling along with seven other Massachusetts reproductions.<sup>46</sup> These coins may not have been intended to deceive collectors, but they were used for that purpose according to newspaper reports in Boston and New York. Wyatt even wrote on July 11, 1856, to Jeremiah Colburn, a coin dealer of Boston, that "I shall have in my possession, shortly, a fine specimen of the Good Samaritan."<sup>47</sup>

The Wyatt reproductions are struck in silver (PLATE IV). Apparently the diemaker, who was apparently not Wyatt himself, was unfamiliar with most of the coins as evidenced by the many errors made in the reproductions. It has been pointed out that the horizontal lines in the New England shilling and sixpence were copied by Wyatt's diemaker from illustrations in Felt who in turn had copied Folkes' erroneous drawing of them. The Pine Tree penny erroneously included by Folkes was copied by Felt and recopied for Wyatt. The

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Wyatt, *A Description of the National Medals of America, presented to the officers of the Wars of the Revolution and 1812*. (New York, 1854).

<sup>46</sup> Richard D. Kenney, "Struck Copies of Early American Coins," *Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1952), p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Boston Transcript*, Aug. 25, 1856; *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (July, 1872), p. 4, Noe, *The New England and Willow Tree Coinage of Massachusetts*, p. 54; Noe, *The Pine Tree Coinage of Massachusetts*, p. 26.

Oak Tree twopence dated 1652 was an erroneous correction of either Felt or Folkes to correspond with the Folkes text. However, the Wyatt Oak Tree shilling and the Pine Tree sixpence were copied from actual coins as no drawings of these coins had been published.

The obverse of Felt's drawing of the Good Samaritan had deliberately omitted the motto, FAC SIMILE, and thus there was a similar omission on Wyatt's reproduction. The major deviation of the Wyatt obverse die from either the Pembroke or Bushnell shillings or drawings of them is that a linear outer circle was added touching many of the letters. Felt showed no reverse for the Good Samaritan shilling and Wyatt did not have a separate reverse made. Instead the reverse of Wyatt's Oak Tree shilling was used for the reverse of the Good Samaritan shilling.

Wyatt, by virtue of the copies he had made, was not aware of the existence of the Bushnell shilling. By 1858, however, Taylor, who located the Bushnell shilling, was familiar with Wyatt's copy of the Good Samaritan shilling since Taylor mentioned it in a letter to Bushnell.

Edwin Bishop of New York later succeeded to Wyatt's dies and restruck a few sets of reproductions in copper as well as silver. Either for amusement or because the Oak Tree shilling reverse die broke Bishop combined the Good Samaritan shilling obverse with the Oak Tree shilling obverse to make coins with two obverses (PLATE IV). Finally, Bishop used these two obverse dies to overstrike an English guinea to produce the "fakest" coin in history. This gold overstrike has the distinction of being a unique muled restrike of a coined reproduction (Wyatt) of an erroneous drawing (Felt) copied from a partially conjured illustration (Folkes) of a genuine coin (Noe 25) spuriously counterstamped (Pembroke Shilling). It first appeared as Lot 1118 in the sale of Bishop's collection on December 15, 1863, and reappeared in many subsequent sales.

### THE OAK TREE SIXPENCE NOE 19

One variety of the Oak Tree Sixpence, known as Noe 19<sup>48</sup> and Crosby 3-E, is first described by Crosby and is illustrated on PLATE V herein. Neither the obverse or reverse dies from which Noe 19 was struck are found on any other known coin, making them a completely independent pair of dies.

A photograph of this variety of sixpence has never been heretofore published. Crosby used a drawing and both Noe and the *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins* copied that drawing. Noe after an extensive search through many collections of Massachusetts silver was not able to find this variety to photograph. In 1956, the author located a specimen in England which coin is now in the collection of the American Numismatic Society. Since that time two other specimens have been located, so that there are now only three known. These examples of Noe 19 substantially exceed in weight the authorized weight of the Massachusetts sixpence. They weigh 46.5 grains, 52 grains and 39 grains. Since the official weight of the sixpence was designated at 36 grains by virtue of the Massachusetts General Court Order of June 11, 1652, that "every shilling shall be of due weight, viz. three penny troy weight and all other peeces proportionately" it is clear that these coins are far beyond the range of tolerance. No specimen of any variety of New England, Willow Tree, Oak Tree or Pine Tree sixpence has been located which weighs as much as 36 grains, except a unique Oak Tree sixpence pattern (Noe 15) struck over a shilling. No shilling of any variety has been located which weighs as much as 80 grains, as virtually all of them are less than 73 grains. The

<sup>48</sup> *The Oak Tree Coinage of Massachusetts*, pp. 9, 10, 19 and Plate IV.

weights of these normal coins indicate that John Hull and his co-workers did not make substantial errors of weight against their own interests. Suspicion is therefore cast upon the genuineness of the specimens of Noe 19.

A study of the details of Noe 19 reveals the following major deviations from the normal series of Massachusetts silver:

1. Although there is adequate space outside the legend, no outer ring of dots is found on either the obverse or the reverse. Such circles of dots were required by the General Court Order, dated October 19, 1652, and are found on every other Willow Tree, Oak Tree and Pine Tree variety of each denomination except the Bushnell Good Samaritan shilling which has heretofore been shown to be artificial. An Oak Tree sixpence without outer circles is such a clear violation of the court order that it cannot be excused as a diemaker's error or a pattern. Adding outer circles would have been very easy to correct if a mistake were made on the dies.

2. The obverse and the reverse legends do not correlate. The obverse reads MASATHVSETS IN and the reverse reads IN NEWENGLAND:ANO:, the word IN being unnecessarily repeated. The fact that IN is found on both sides of the coin seems unusual, particularly because the obverse and reverse dies have matching characteristics such as the style of lettering and the small dots. This repetition of the word IN is found on the Bushnell Good Samaritan shilling also. The word IN is on the obverse of every other Massachusetts piece where the word IN is used at all except on one other variety of the Oak Tree sixpence known as Noe 16 (Crosby 6-F). This exception has the IN on the reverse only and is described hereafter.

3. The base of the tree is shown encircled by a line resembling a coiled serpent, an artistic treatment of the roots differing from the crude root designation found on all other known varieties of Massachusetts silver with the tree design.

In the Pembroke illustrations published in 1746 and heretofore described on page 3 herein there is a drawing of an Oak Tree sixpence in pars 4 tabula 14 which is virtually similar to Noe 19 and is illustrated on PLATE V hereof. It is the only Massachusetts sixpence illustrated in the Pembroke plates. Folkes illustrated only a Pine Tree sixpence, and the Oak Tree sixpence shown in the Pembroke plates is not found in the illustrations of Snelling, Ruding or Felt who copied their predecessors drawings to a great extent with respect to Massachusetts silver coinage. Since no identical specimen to the coin illustrated in the Pembroke plates seems to exist its characteristics should be compared with the varieties most closely resembling it, namely, Noe 19 and Noe 16.

Noe 19 is only different from the Pembroke drawing in a minor degree. It can be noticed that the serpentine coil around the tree base is evident in each of them. The branches on the tree are the same and an independent branch arises from the ground and bends abruptly to the right. There is no outer circle of dots on either side of either of them. The diagonal of the last N in NEWENGLAND is reversed on the Pembroke illustration but not on Noe 19. The IN is repeated on the obverse and reverse of the Pembroke drawing as well as Noe 19, but the position of IN on the obverse of the Pembroke illustration is between 7 and 8 o'clock while on Noe 19 the IN is between 5 and 6 o'clock. The position of MASATHVSETS on the Pembroke drawing begins at 9 o'clock and ends at 6 o'clock while the same word on Noe 19 begins at 8 o'clock and ends at 4 o'clock. The differences appear inconsequential.

The Oak Tree sixpence known as Noe 16 (PLATE V) also has many similarities to the Pembroke drawing. The obverse of Noe 16 contains the legend MASATHVSETS ⚙ and does not have the word IN. The first S is small and tilts right exactly as the same letter does in the Pembroke drawing.

The M in MASATHVSETS is at 9 o'clock both on Noe 16 and the Pembroke drawing and the final S is at 6 o'clock on both. Each S in MASATHVSETS has different characteristics, Noe 16 and the Pembroke drawing being alike in these respects. The first S is narrower than it should be in comparison with each adjacent A and at the base it is narrower than any other S. The second S is distant from V and the final S tilts to the right. The E is distant from the adjacent T in both Noe 16 and the Pembroke drawing. The coincidence of these characteristics is not accidental.

The reverse of Noe 16 and the drawing have identical lettering in the same position. The Pembroke drawing, however, has two colons as punctuation whereas the reverse of Noe 16 has a period and a rosette of seven dots. The last N in NEWENGLAND in the Pembroke drawing has its diagonal stroke reversed whereas the same N in Noe 16 has its diagonal in proper position.

In the best specimen of Noe 16 which could be found by Noe for illustration, the obverse was poorly struck because of a die flaw or break, the reverse being clear and strong. On the Noe plates, as well as on the Wurtzbach plates,<sup>49</sup> the roots cannot be discerned on this variety. If, therefore, there was in the Pembroke collection, a specimen of Noe 16 which was not struck clearly on the obverse in the area around the rosette and around the roots, it is entirely possible that Haym, the engraver of the Pembroke plates, had to guess the balance of the legend and the device. The space between the M and the last S of MASATHVSETS is sufficient for the word IN and the illustrator could readily notice the IN in the Massachusetts Pine Tree shilling he was also drawing. It was therefore logical for him to use IN to fill the space if the rosette could not be seen. Likewise, the illustrator would be obliged to draw imaginative roots if they were not discern-

<sup>49</sup> Photographs of Massachusetts Colonial Silver Collection of Carl Wurtzbach (Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 1937).

able. In that way the serpentine line coiled around the base of the tree might have been created. It is remarkable that Haym in trying to be reliable left evidence that the sixpence he was drawing was not fully legible. A careful examination of the Haym's illustration of the Pembroke sixpence shows that the IN on the obverse is dotted in and not cut in with continuous lines as is the case in all other lettering in the other varieties of Massachusetts silver. Haym unequivocally indicated by the use of dotting that he was doubtful as to what was in the 7 to 8 o'clock position on the obverse.

The outer rings of dots are barely discernable on either side of any Noe 16 variety. Likewise on most specimens the roots and the area where the rosette was struck are generally not discernable. Since there is proof by the dotted IN that the rosette area was not clear we can conclude that the differences between Noe 16 and the Pembroke drawing are entirely justifiable because they could not have been seen and had to be assumed. The balance of Noe 16 conforms so closely to the Pembroke illustration in all major particulars that the obvious conclusion is that the Pembroke drawing was copied from a very mediocre specimen of Noe 16.

The next problem is to try to eliminate the possibility that the drawing was copied from a specimen of Noe 19. At the Pembroke sale in 1848 the Massachusetts sixpence was not separately described, but its weight was given as 35.7 grains. Since the known specimens of Noe 19 are far heavier than the weight of the Pembroke sixpence which is normal, there would have to be another Noe 19. This other Noe 19 would also have to have an unreadable portion where the assumed IN was dotted in and this portion of the known pieces of that variety is strong. The chance that an unknown Noe 19 had a weakness in the identical place where Noe 16 has a weakness is negligible. The drawing therefore could not have been made from a specimen of Noe 19.

If the Pembroke drawing of the Oak Tree sixpence were

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being subsequently copied by a diemaker knowing little about Massachusetts coins all the innocent mistakes made by Haym would be copied also. The reversed diagonal of the last N in ENGLAND however was assumed by the diecutter of Noe 19 to be a common error which anyone engraving a plate might readily make. His assumption was correct as no Oak Tree sixpence or any other sixpence has an N with a reversed diagonal. Therefore the diecutter of Noe 19 corrected the mistake.

The conclusion therefore is inescapable that a mediocre specimen of a Noe 16 Oak Tree sixpence in the Pembroke collection was the basis of Haym's drawing and that the Noe 19 Oak Tree sixpence was a subsequent artificial coin copied from that drawing.

The Oak Tree sixpence known as Noe 19 must therefore be transferred from a classification as genuine to that of a fabrication and is redesignated as Noe OC.

### *A PINE TREE SHILLING OF SIMILAR ORIGIN*

Since the Pembroke illustrations stimulated the production of the Bushnell Good Samaritan Shilling and Oak Tree sixpence Noe 19, there is a possibility that other coins on the Pembroke plate were copied.

A Pine Tree shilling recently located in England has an obverse and a reverse different from all published or known varieties and is illustrated on PLATE VI hereof. It weighs 97.7 grams which is far heavier than the official weight of 72 grains. As has been stated heretofore the Massachusetts Mint was very careful as to the weight of issues. That the one known example is so far overweight creates suspicion.

An examination of this new Pine Tree shilling brings out one unusual variation from other Massachusetts coinage. The top of the first number in the date is bifurcated so that it somewhat resembles a Y instead of an I. A glance at both the Pembroke and Folkes illustrations of the Pine Tree Shilling (PLATE VI) shows the identical bifurcation. There is no other variety of any denomination of Massachusetts coin which has any bifurcated I in the date. Again the problem arises as to whether the coin was copied from the drawings or the drawings from the coin.

The legend, punctuation and general layout of the Pembroke and Folkes drawings resemble the Pine Tree shilling variety Noe 1 (Crosby 12-I) which is illustrated on PLATE VI herein. On the obverse of Noe 1 the second and third lower limbs on the left are joined on one branch. On the reverse there are colons before and after AN. These distinctive features are found only on Noe 1 and are also present on both the Pembroke and Folkes drawings. The Folkes drawing resembles Noe 1 so closely as to the shape of the tree and its

roots and saplings that it is clearly copied from a specimen of Noe 1. The earlier Pembroke drawing although much cruder cannot be copied from any other known variety because it has the distinctive features above noted as well as the bifurcated I in the date. The problem therefore is how the bifurcation could be drawn by two different engravers unless it existed.

An examination of other specimens of Noe 1 shows a die break which develops at the top of the I of the date first toward the 6 and later to the left (PLATE VI). Finally this break obliterates the entire top of the I. If the specimen which Pembroke had and the specimen which Folkes copied had the die break developed to look like a bifurcation it would have been so copied. Of the large Pine Tree shillings Noe 1 is the most common because the dies must have had long endurance. If two coins from the same general period in the life of the dies were the basis for the Pembroke and the Folkes drawings the bifurcation could be present on both. If the top of the I was obliterated in the coin which Folkes illustrated he or those who finished his plate could have copied the Pembroke drawing in that respect.

Snelling although illustrating the same variety drew the top of the I properly because he had an example without the die break to work from. Ruding used Folkes' plates and Felt blindly copied Folkes' plates to continue the bifurcation error.

A comparison of the Pembroke and Folkes drawings with Noe 1 and the newly located variety show the following:

	<i>New Variety</i>	<i>Noe 1</i>	<i>Pembroke</i>	<i>Folkes</i>
Dots in obverse rosette	8	7	7	8
Dots in reverse rosette	9	9	7	9
Dots in obverse inner circle	63	77	42	59
Dots in reverse inner circle	53	74	53	78

These figures prove that the drawings are unreliable for minor detail.

There is however a detail on the tree in the newly located shilling which is indicative. There are seven branches on each side of the tree, all originating at the trunk. On the left side the third branch has two points of origin, a normal horizontal one and another gradually rising from a much lower point. An examination of the Pembroke illustration discloses one gradually rising limb connecting the second and third branches on the left to the trunk. The third branch on the drawing has no independent horizontal connection to the trunk.

It appears from the new shilling that the diemaker at first cut the third branch on the left so as to have an angular connection to the trunk following the Pembroke drawing and then was dissatisfied with its appearance and gave the third branch a horizontal connection too. This proves the new variety was copied from the Pembroke drawing because if the drawing were copied from the new variety the horizontal third branch connection to the trunk would be shown. While the Folkes drawing is similar to the Pembroke drawing as to this point the juncture of the second and third branch is almost at the trunk.

The new Pine Tree shilling therefore joins the Bushnell Good Samaritan shilling and the Oak Tree sixpence Noe 19 as being fabrications based upon the Pembroke drawings. It should be designated as Noe PQ.

## THE SOURCE OF THE FABRICATIONS MADE FROM DRAWINGS

Thomas Wyatt was not alone in having struck copies of Massachusetts pieces. He at least did not personally attempt to sell his pieces as genuine. The dangerous fabricator is the one who has only a few specimens struck from a fabricated die and sells them as part of a collection or a newly found hoard. The false New England sixpences, threepences, etc.,<sup>50</sup> in the sale on December 5, 1871, of the collection of Dr. Charles Clay of Manchester, England, were allegedly found in a hoarded mass. The Bushnell Good Samaritan shilling was according to Taylor's letter to Bushnell acquired in a group of rare English coins. The famous 1650 Pine Tree shilling fabrications were allegedly found in a lot of silver bought from an old person in New Hampshire.<sup>51</sup>

Fabricated coins were not necessarily made to be sold at high prices. They were often produced to help sell the balance of a group of coins or merely coined for devilment.

The Bushnell shilling first appeared in England in 1858; at least two of the three known Noe 19 Oak Tree sixpences were found in England; W. E. Woodward describes a specimen of Noe 19 (Lot 1908, April 28, 1863 sale) as a counterfeit of English origin; and the newly located Pine Tree shilling (Noe PQ) was also first seen in England. The emphasis on England cannot be disregarded. It has been shown that the

<sup>50</sup> Noe, *The New England and Willow Tree Coinages of Massachusetts*, p. 55; John J. Ford, Jr., "Untraced Curiosities in the American Colonial Series," *Numismatic Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2-4 (April-October, 1947); See lots 2 and 3 of the sale of the Peter Geschwend collection on June 15, 1908, catalogued by Thomas L. Elder; *Mason's Monthly Coin Collectors' Magazine* (Philadelphia, Jan., 1872), Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Crosby, p. 63.

interest in the sale of the Pembroke shilling in 1848 in England stimulated discussion concerning it and the "original" Bushnell shilling was available by 1858. Within that period the fabricator should be found.

The most notorious forger of coins in nineteenth century England was Singleton, a man about whom almost nothing is known, not even his first name. In Sotheby's sale in July, 1839, he is described as "the now well-known dealer, whose sanctified appearance and deceptive demeanour, have but too well enabled him to succeed in disposing of his forgeries as genuine, and by so doing injure the science of numismatics and defraud the unwary."<sup>52</sup> Singleton used the alias, Dr. James Edwards, of Waterford, Ireland, in 1840 in selling coins in Plymouth, England, and sometimes used the name James.<sup>53</sup> Silver coins of England, Scotland, etc. were being profusely counterfeited in 1849 and offered for sale in a shop in London<sup>54</sup> apparently by Singleton. In 1848, it was said that there were only two counterfeiters striking rare coins in England, Singleton and Emery, but Emery specialized in English gold coins and died in 1850.<sup>55</sup> Singleton apparently was the only rare coin fabricator operating in England after 1850, although the date of his death or his withdrawal from operations is unknown.

There are other American fabrications of the period which can be attributed to Singleton. Forgeries of a United States 1796 half-cent, and a Charles Carroll medal are known as Edwards' copies.<sup>56</sup> Dr. Francis S. Edwards, an English doctor and coin collector who moved to New York and died

<sup>52</sup> Leonard Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists* (London, 1904-16), Vol. II, p. 533.

<sup>53</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. II (1840), p. 256.

<sup>54</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XI (1849), p. 185.

<sup>55</sup> *Gentlemen's Magazine*, Vol. 184 (July, 1848), p. 2; *The Literary Gazette and Journal* (London, 1848), p. 381.

<sup>56</sup> Richard D. Kenney, "Struck Copies of Early American Coins," *Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1952), p. 11.

there in 1865, was the source of these counterfeits according to Attinelli's following statement:

To him was attributed the appearance of several counterfeit pieces of rare American coins and medals which, though extremely well executed, were quickly detected.<sup>57</sup>

However, Woodward indicates in his April, 1866 catalogue as to the 1796 half-cent fabrication that he does not believe Dr. Francis S. Edwards' statement that the twelve pieces and the die were bought by Edwards in London. Dr. Francis S. Edwards is not the same person as the alias Dr. James Edwards, which was used by Singleton. Yet Singleton probably made the counterfeits which Dr. Francis S. Edwards distributed in America, particularly because the die was brought with the coins.

Since the fabricator of the three pieces of Massachusetts silver heretofore discussed was not familiar with specimens of the coinage, and worked from the Pembroke illustrations, this points to an English diecutter rather than to an American as the latter would have had the coins more readily available and would have copied from Felt's more recent book as Wyatt did rather than a 1746 publication. Some might feel that Wyatt's diecutter could have made these Massachusetts silver fabrications, but the fact that Wyatt had the same types of coins made for his own purposes would indicate that another source were involved.

The evidence indicates that Singleton was the most likely person to have made the Bushnell shilling, the Noe 19 Oak Tree sixpence, and the Noe PQ Pine Tree shilling and that they were struck in England between 1848 and 1858.

<sup>57</sup> E. J. Attinelli, *Numisgraphics* (New York, 1876), p. 42.

## UNLISTED FABRICATIONS

Noe described in detail and illustrated struck copies of Pine Tree coinage, but except for some Wyatt imitations did not attempt to illustrate or describe the struck copies of the other issues of Massachusetts silver. Because of the difficulties caused by the steady reappearance of fabrications an attempt is made herein to include those which Noe did not describe and illustrate.

The fabrications in this monograph are each represented by two letters so that they may complement and not conflict with Noe's single letter designation of fabrications in the Pine Tree Series. The first letter represents the series, such as N for New England, O for Oak Tree and P for Pine Tree. W would be used as the first letter for Willow Tree if any were found. The second letter is arbitrary except in the Pine Tree series where letters not used by Noe have been selected.

All of the Wyatt coinage except the Good Samaritan shilling and the New England sixpence are illustrated by Noe on Plate II of *The New England and Willow Tree Coinages of Massachusetts* and Plates VII, VIII, and XI of *The Pine Tree Coinage of Massachusetts*.

The Wyatt Good Samaritan shilling and the New England sixpence are illustrated herein on PLATES IV and VII so that illustrations of all Wyatt's coinage are available in Noe's publications, or herein.<sup>58</sup>

Since all other fabrications are being given a designation, it seems desirable to include those from the Wyatt series

<sup>58</sup> "Struck Copies of Early American Coins," by Richard D. Kenney, contains illustrations of all of the Wyatt die varieties; except the Pine Tree twopence combination.



which do not have Noe numbers. The revised Wyatt series designations may be as follows:

NA	Wyatt New England Shilling
NB	Wyatt New England Sixpence
OA	Wyatt 1652 Oak Tree Shilling
L	Wyatt 1652 Pine Tree Sixpence
M	Wyatt 1652 Pine Tree Threepence
OB	Wyatt 1652 Oak Tree Twopence
N	Wyatt 1652 Pine Tree Twopence (a muling)
O	Wyatt 1652 Pine Tree Penny
GS	Wyatt 1652 Good Samaritan Shilling
GO	Muling of Wyatt Good Samaritan and Wyatt Oak Tree Shilling obverse dies

The copies of Massachusetts silver produced by C. Wyllys Betts when he was a student at Yale<sup>59</sup> are too crude to consider as they were hot rolled between negatives made out of smoothed-off copper coins. He also produced a silver sixpence weighing 46½ grains with NH CON MAS PLY RI surrounding NE on the obverse and NEW ENGLAND VI surrounding 1686 on the reverse.

Fabrications undoubtedly exist in addition to those listed by Noe or herein and there may be others to beware of in the future. It is hoped, however, that those described will simplify the recognition of genuine pieces after electrotypes and casts of genuine coins have been rejected.

#### NEW ENGLAND SERIES

In order to recognize fabrications of the New England series it seems desirable to describe briefly the method used in striking the genuine pieces. At the Massachusetts Mint planchets for New England silver were struck with punches

<sup>59</sup> See Addenda to John F. McCoy Sale (W. E. Woodward, cataloguer), held May 17, 1864 Edouard Frossard, "Fabrication," *Numisma*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (March 1878); Comment following Lot 587 of Edouard Frossard Sale No. 104 held January 9, 1891.

which did not extend beyond the depressed outline surrounding the NE or the denomination. Only one of these punches would be used while the planchet was held on a flat base. Then the second punch would be used after the coin was turned over on its horizontal axis in order to avoid crushing the impression of the first punch by the use of the second punch. The genuine New England pieces therefore have their punch marks about 180° offset and never back to back.

The Wyatt copies of the New England shilling and sixpence are struck at one time from a pair of dies which covered the full size of the planchet and often show portions of the circumferential line surrounding the field of striated horizontal lines. These Wyatt fabrications have the NE and the denomination back to back. Even though the field of striated lines has been buffed off or otherwise tooled, Wyatt pieces are nevertheless distinguishable because of the back to back juxtaposition of the imitated punch marks. The striated lines in the field were copied from Felt's erroneous plate of 1839 which in turn was copied from the erroneous drawing found on Folkes' Plate XXX published in 1763. The earlier Pembroke illustration of the New England shilling, published in 1746, was accurate in not having striations in the field.

The New England silver pieces in the sale of Dr. Charles Clay on November 21, 1871, consisting of three genuine shillings (Lots 63, 64 and 65), Wyatt copies of a shilling and sixpence (Lots 66 and 74), two fabricated sixpences (Lots 67 and 68), three fabricated threepences (Lots 69, 70 and 71), and three coins artificially counterstamped with a false NE (Lots 72, 73 and 75).

These forgeries were recognized at the time but reappeared subsequently in other sales.<sup>60</sup> They are herein described as Fabrications NG, NM and NQ.

<sup>60</sup> John J. Ford, Jr., "Untraced Curiosities in the American Colonial Series," *Numismatic Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2-4 (April-Oct., 1947), p. 93.

*Fabrication NC*

New England shilling with the left upright of the N in the form of a sweeping concave curve joining the top of the diagonal at its upper left corner instead of joining the diagonal below its top. The bottom of the outline of the NE punch is convex instead of straight. The punches are improperly back to back. The John J. Ford specimen is slightly overweight at  $73\frac{1}{2}$  grains and is illustrated on PLATE VII. The dies for this piece were cut by the makers of the dies for New England sixpence designated as Fabrication NH as indicated by the similarity of the shape of the NE.

*Fabrication ND*

New England shilling first described in 1911 by Henry Chapman<sup>61</sup> having a raised line instead of a punch depression surrounding the NE and the XII. The left upright of the N is in the form of an arc of a circle and joins the diagonal at its top end instead of joining the diagonal below its upper end. The E tilts to the right. The X in XII is very narrow. The punch marks are  $180^0$  apart. A specimen from the Chase Manhattan Bank collection is illustrated on PLATE VII herein and weighs 60 grains. The dies for this piece were cut by the maker of the dies for New England sixpence designated as Fabrication NJ as indicated by the raised line around the punch marks.

*Fabrication NF*

1665 Massachusetts, New England Colony shilling with the obverse legend M + NE COL + surrounding a 10 pointed star and the reverse legend XII PENCE 1665 in three lines. This completely spurious fraud illustrated on PLATE VIII is struck in silver and weighs 81 grains. It is also found

<sup>61</sup> *The Numismatist*, Vol. 24 (Nov., 1911), p. 405 and Vol. 25 (Jan., 1912), p. 5.

in copper. Its existence was commented upon in many W. E. Woodward sales which placed its origin as Hillsboro, New Hampshire.

*Fabrication NG*

The New England sixpence from the Clay sale has the NE in a rectangular depression with rounded corners instead of a depression corresponding to the shape of the NE. Crosby, on his Plate II-25 illustrated Lot 67 which weighs 36 grains. The other specimen, Lot 68, represented on PLATE VII herein weighs only 28 grains. Both coins are from the same pair of punches in spite of statements to the contrary in the Clay catalogue. Both are now in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

*Fabrication NH*

New England sixpence with the left upright of the N in the form of a sweeping concave curve joining the upper end of the diagonal at the upper left corner instead of joining the diagonal below its upper end. The I of VI is tilted to the right almost being parallel to the right side of the V. The punches are improperly back to back. The W. B. Osgood Field specimen in the American Numismatic Society collection weighs 30.3 grains and is illustrated on PLATE VII herein. The Maurice Gould specimen weighs 35 grains and has slight evidence of edge reeding still remaining from the more modern coin used as a planchet for this fabrication.

*Fabrication NJ*

New England sixpence with a raised line instead of a punch depression surrounding the NE and the VI. The diagonal stroke of the N is erroneously from upper right to lower left. The frame around NE is rectangular rather than following the shape of the NE. The punch marks are 180°

apart. This coin was first described in 1911 by Henry Chapman.<sup>61</sup> The author's specimen weighs 31.5 grains. This is a companion piece to New England shilling Fabrication ND.

#### *Fabrication NK*

New England sixpence in which the punch depression fails to follow the outline of the NE at the top and runs in a straight line across that portion. The VI is double-struck. A specimen formerly in the University of Pennsylvania collection weighs 29.5 grains and is illustrated on PLATE VII herein. The round planchet is peculiarly clipped off in a straight line at the top of each punch mark. The punch marks are about 150° apart. The texture of the silver is much more uniform than the genuine New England coinage.

#### *Fabrication NL*

The New England sixpence described and illustrated in *The New England and Willow Tree Coinages of Massachusetts* (p. 8 and Plate II-4) should be removed from a classification as genuine to that of a fabrication. It is overweight at 38.3 grains and its NE is much too thin and delicate. Above all, its NE and VI punches are back to back, contrary to the striking practice employed at the Massachusetts Mint. Although the coin is badly scraped and worn, the punch marks, strangely enough, are sharp and unblemished. No other specimen bearing the impression of either the obverse or reverse punch is known. It is possible that this variety is a carefully tooled Wyatt New England sixpence since the latter is far overweight, also has punches back to back, and is the same diameter and has a similar layout for the NE and the VI.

#### *Fabricated Counterstamp NM*

The counterstamp NE used on the coins designated as Lots 72, 73 and 75 of the Clay sale is the same die punch

used to make the sixpence in the Clay sale referred to as Fabrication NG herein.

Lot 75 has the same NE counterstamp on the obverse of a genuine Pine Tree shilling, Noe 1. This coin, weighing 67.9 grains, is in the Norweb collection and is illustrated on PLATE VIII herein.

#### *Fabrication NQ*

New England threepence from the Clay sale having the NE erroneously in a rectangular depression with rounded corners. Crosby, in his Plate II-26, illustrated Lot 69 which weighs 24 grains. Lots 70 and 71, weighing 24 grains and 18 grains, respectively, are in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, the former being illustrated on PLATE VII herein. All three are from the same pair of dies in spite of the statement to the contrary in the Clay catalogue.

#### *Fabrication NR*

New England threepence on which the outline of the reverse punch is octagonal instead of being rectangular as are the reverse punches of each denomination. It is about 20 % overweight at 21.4 grains and has its punches improperly back to back. It is illustrated on PLATE VII herein. It was obtained by W. B. Osgood Field at the same time as he acquired Fabrication NH and is now in the American Numismatic Society collection.

#### OAK TREE SERIES

The fabrications of the Oak Tree coinage only seem to include the following:

Wyatt Oak Tree Shilling (Noe OA)

1652 Wyatt Oak Tree twopence (Noe OB)

Oak Tree sixpence (Noe 19) (redesignated as Noe OC)

## PINE TREE SERIES

Noe's detail on fabrications and reproductions is further supplemented as follows:

*Fabrication Noe I*

Pine Tree shilling fabrication, Noe I (Crosby 25-T), has never been accurately illustrated although it was discussed on page 46 of Noe's *The Pine Tree Coinage of Massachusetts*. In Dickeson's *American Numismatic Manual*, it is drawn on Supplementary Plate XX and this drawing is included by Noe on his Plate VIII. The spelling of MASSA-----S with the double S is distinctive as is the omission of AN DOM (or any abbreviation thereof) on the reverse of a shilling. The American Numismatic Society's specimen is illustrated on PLATE VIII herein. It is slightly clipped but not to the extent necessary to account for its short weight of 39 grains compared to a 72 grain standard.

*Fabrication PQ*

Pine Tree shilling described and discussed on pages 51-3 and illustrated on PLATE VI herein.

*Fabrication PR*

Pine Tree shilling with its tree being a direct copy of Noe 1.<sup>62</sup> Each side of the tree has seven branches and all originate at the trunk except the third lowest branch on the left which originates on the branch below. The shape of the tree, the number of branches, the forks on the branches, the direction of the roots and most significantly, the origin of the third lowest branch are also characteristics of Pine Tree shilling Noe 1. The areas closely surrounding the tree, the lettering and the rings of dots are depressed from the general

<sup>62</sup> Kenneth Bressett, "Pine Tree Shilling Variety," *The Numismatist*, Vol. 68 (Jan., 1955), p. 26.

level of the field instead of being on the same level. The two known specimens are both heavily clipped. Even if the missing areas were assumed to cover the maximum diameter of a large size Pine Tree shilling planchet their original weights would only have been 58 and 56 grains respectively instead of 72 grains, assuming uniform thickness. The Chase Manhattan Bank specimen only weighs 30.5 grains and the Norweb specimen weighing 34.1 grains is illustrated on PLATE VIII herein.

*Fabrication PS*

Bright and new Pine Tree shilling with obverse and reverse copied from Noe 1. The tree on the obverse has no roots projecting below the base as Noe 1 has. The obverse legend is punctuated with a colon and a double colon instead of with a period and a rosette of 7 dots. The rosette on the reverse has 8 dots instead of 9. The artificial die break cut from the top of the 1 over to the 6 in the date is horizontal instead of rising to the right and is too uniform in width. The Bressett specimen is overweight at 88.4 grains.

*Fabrication PT*

Pine Tree shilling of the small type with a U instead of a V in MASATHUSETS. The left end of the tree roots cut into the inner circle of dots. On the reverse the top of each A is open whereas on the obverse they are closed. On the reverse the first D is much larger than the second D. The Picker specimen weighs 61.5 grains and is illustrated on PLATE VIII herein.



## UNLISTED GENUINE MASSACHUSETTS SILVER

Since the publication of Noe's three monographs covering the classification of Massachusetts silver coinage, some unlisted genuine major varieties and subvarieties have been noticed. The new major varieties include one New England type, one Willow Tree type and one Oak Tree type. The subvarieties are distinctive transitional die states between listed combinations of the same pair of dies. Noe assigned separate numbers to different states of the same pair of dies whenever a major change resulted from die recutting, die breakage, or die failure and therefore the additional transitional states described herein are designated with intervening decimals.

New Noe numbers are assigned to the following:

### *New England Shilling, Noe I-D.*

New England shilling first illustrated in the sale of the Allison W. Jackman collection<sup>63</sup> and shown on PLATE IX herein. The weight of this piece is normal at 71 grains.

Obverse: The same punch as Noe I with the thin line die defect or die break extending from the top of the serif on the center stroke of the E to the bottom of the top stroke of the E.

Reverse: The depressed rectangular panel is smaller than any other variety. The upper left corner of X touches the perimeter of the panel. The lower right corner of X touches the adjacent I. The punch used for this reverse seems to be a recutting of Noe reverse A as the elements of XII are in the same position. The punch seems to have been filed down on all four sides, thereby reducing the panel size.

<sup>63</sup> Lot 2 of sale held June 28, 1918 (Henry Chapman, catalogue).

A second specimen from the same dies is known<sup>64</sup> with part of its reverse double struck in such a way that a splinter-like sliver breaks the right side of the frame and the second I is very irregular.

*Willow Tree Shilling, Noe 2-A*

Noe obverse 2 is combined with Noe reverse A forming a new combination of known dies. The American Numismatic Society's specimen weighs 67.7 grains and is illustrated on PLATE IX herein.

The Norweb collection specimen weighs 69.5 grains.

*Oak Tree Threepence, Noe 35*

Obverse: The legend reads MASATHVSETS·IN· and has no rosette. The IN is part of the obverse legend similar to the obverse legend in Noe 23. The trunk of the tree has 4 vertical lines intersected by two cross lines rising from left to right.

Reverse: The same reverse as Noe 28, but with a die break running from the top of the rosette to the top of the D to the outer circle of dots.

The former Stack specimen, weighing 16.5 grains, is illustrated on PLATE IX herein.

The Norweb specimen, weighing 14.2 grains, is holed.

*Oak Tree Shilling, Noe 13.3*

Oak Tree shillings Noe 13 and 14 are from the same pair of dies and differ only by extensive recutting. In the course of their transition from one state to the other there are intervening states. The first recutting shows that the obverse differs from the obverse of Noe 13 by having shaggy instead of bare branches on the tree, by the top of the second S having a serif and by the crossbar of the second T being

<sup>64</sup> Lot 2, Catalogue of the 1957 American Numismatic Association Sale, held August 21, 1957.

forked at both ends. The reverse is the same as the reverse of Noe 13. The Cyril Hawley specimen weighing 70.5 grains is illustrated on PLATE IX herein. The Norweb specimen weighs 71 grains.

*Oak Tree Shilling, Noe 13.6*

The obverse shows further recutting from transition state Noe 13.3 and now approaches the state of the obverse of Noe 14. The dots in the circles are enlarged and the top of A has been extended to touch a dot in the outer circle. The E has forked serifs. The top and bottom of the first S have serifs. The reverse continues to be the same reverse as the reverse of Noe 13. The Jackman specimen is illustrated on PLATE IX.

*Oak Tree Sixpence, Noe 17.1*

The defects on both sides of Oak Tree sixpence Noe 17 are now known to have been caused by die damage rather than being the result of "a re-used flan" as stated in Noe. The obverse and reverse dies were struck, or fell together when no planchet was between them, each die thus damaging the other. The undamaged die state is therefore given a separate numbering.

*Oak Tree Twopence, Noe 31.5*

Oak Tree twopences Noe 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 34 constitute various changes in the one pair of dies used to make all twopences. There is one die state, however, in which the date becomes unreadable because the die break extends across the top of the 2, left across the second 6 into the first 6, making the date appear to be 1672. The James A. Johnson, Jr., specimen weighs 11½ grains and is shown on PLATE IX herein.

## ALTERATIONS

In addition to forged dies there are deceptive examples of re-engraving or tooling of genuine Massachusetts silver pieces.

An alteration of an Oak Tree shilling into a Pine Tree shilling is in the Norweb collection. The tree on Oak Tree Shilling Noe 10 is normally weak and is barely evident in some specimens. It was so weak that the central portion of the die was actually recut at the Massachusetts Mint resulting in the striking of varieties Noe 11 and Noe 12. The temptation existed for an unscrupulous person to take a weakly-struck specimen of Noe 10 and have an engraver "improve it" by cutting a new tree on the surface of the coin. The specimen on PLATE IV herein is the result.

Another example of alteration by tooling is the Oak Tree penny dated 1662<sup>65</sup> and illustrated on PLATE IV herein. This creation is merely an Oak Tree twopence which has had its denomination changed, a fact which Crosby noted.<sup>66</sup> Its weight of 10.8 grams is that of a twopence. The date as well as the tree are different from Wyatt's Pine Tree penny of 1652. Both types were stimulated by the innocent error of Folkes prior to 1754 in mentioning and imaginatively illustrating a Massachusetts one pence, which error was blindly copied by Snelling in 1769, by Ruding in 1817, and by Felt in 1839 to give it fictitious status.

<sup>65</sup> Lot 2295, Sale of the Joseph J. Mickley Collection (W. E. Woodward, cataloguer), held October 28, 1867.

<sup>66</sup> *Early Coins of America*, p. 74.

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## PLATES





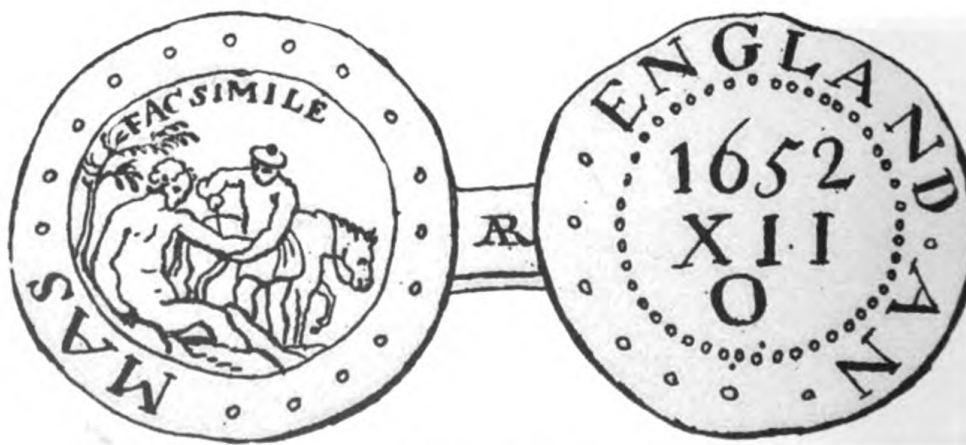
## PLATES



Pembroke Counterstamped Shilling



Variety of Pine Tree Shilling (Noe 25)  
Used to Produce the Pembroke Shilling



1746: Engraved Illustration of Pembroke Shilling

(Coins enlarged to 2 Diameters)



Bushnell Shilling



1763 Folkes  
Engraving



1839 Felt  
Engraving



1769 Snelling Engraved Illustration



(Coins enlarged to 2 Diameters)



**T**HESE are to certify, That the  
 Bearer *John Adams* - - - be-  
 longing to His Majesty's Ship *Griffin*  
 was sent to this place upon the *fourth* day  
 of *June* - 1698 and not being Cu-  
 red was discharg'd hence this *twentieth*  
 day of *July* - 1698 To go forthwith to  
*his ship* - - -

He has received in Cloaths  
 to the Value - - -  
 and in Conduct-money - - -  
 Witness my hand the - *19<sup>th</sup>* day of  
*July* - 1698

By *Sam<sup>l</sup> Jones*  
 Appointed to take care of  
 Sick and Hurt Seamen  
 at

*D. B. Jones*

Only Known Document Containing Seal  
 of 'Commission of Sick and Wounded'



Enlargement to 2 Diameters of  
the Printed Seal Used by the  
'Commission of Sick and Wounded'



GS

1856 Wyatt  
Struck Copy



GO

Bishop's Muling  
of Wyatt's Dies



NF



1665  
Shilling  
of Spurious  
Design



Oak Tree Twopence  
Altered into Penny



Oak Tree Shilling (Noe 10)  
Altered into Pine Tree



Oak Tree  
Sixpence  
(Noe 19)



1746 Pembroke  
Engraving of  
Massachusetts  
Sixpence



Oak Tree Sixpence  
(Noe 16) with the  
Roots and Rosette  
Not Well Struck



Oak Tree Sixpence  
(Noe 16) with the  
Roots and Rosette  
Clearly Struck Up



PQ



Fabricated Pine  
Tree Shilling  
with Bifurcated  
1 in Date



1746 Pembroke  
Engraving of  
Massachusetts  
Shilling



1763 Folkes  
Engraving of  
Massachusetts  
Shilling

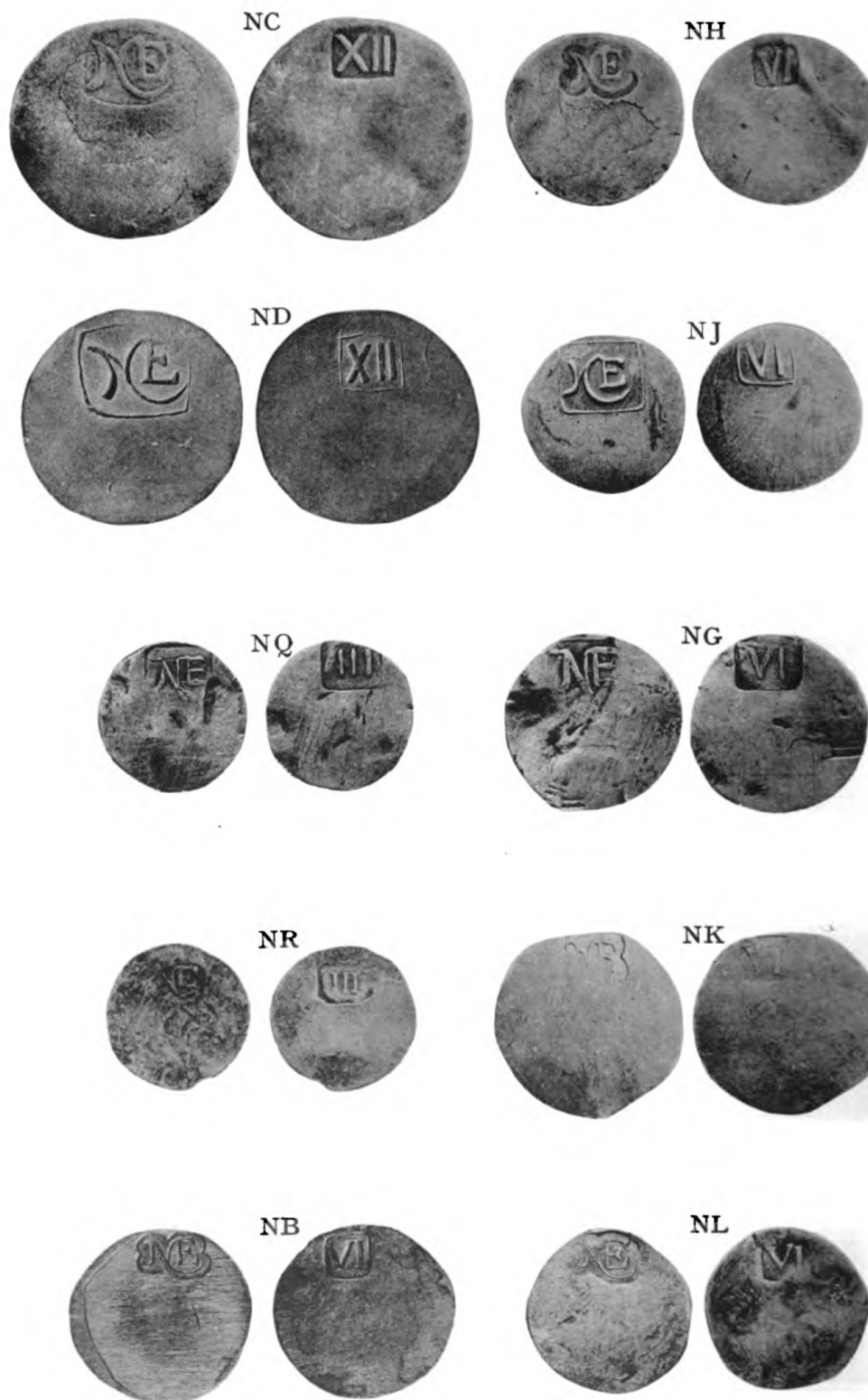


Pine Tree Shilling  
(Noe 1) without any  
Diebreak at Date



Pine Tree Shilling  
(Noe 1) with Broken  
Die Causing Top of  
1 in Date to Seem  
to be Bifurcated





## FABRICATIONS



NM



Genuine Pine  
Tree Shilling  
(Noe 1) having  
Fabricated NE  
Counterstamp



I



Pine Tree  
Fabrication  
(Noe 1)  
with SS in  
Legend



PR



Copy of  
Noe 1



PS



Copy of Noe 1  
with Artificial  
Diebreak in Date



PT



Copy of Small  
Pine Tree Type  
with U instead  
of V in Legend

## FABRICATIONS



New England  
Shilling I-D

Willow Tree Shilling  
2-A



Oak Tree Shilling  
13.3

Oak Tree Shilling  
13.6



Oak Tree  
Threepence 35



Oak Tree  
Twopence  
31.5



Enlargement to  
2 Diameters of  
Broken Reverse  
Die of Noe 31.5  
Causing Date to  
Appear as 1672

7655

UNLISTED GENUINE VARIETIES

15  
ASn  
No.  
143

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 143

# EXCAVATION COINS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS REGION

GEORGE C. MILES



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK

1959

# THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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NEW YORK 32, N. Y.

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# NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

*Number* 143

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS  
is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating  
to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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# Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region

By GEORGE C. MILES



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK  
1959



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## FOREWORD

The coins described in the present catalogue were unearthed in the course of excavations conducted more than twenty years ago by Dr. Erich F. Schmidt on behalf of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, the University Museum of Philadelphia and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, at several sites in the region of Persepolis in southern Iran.<sup>1</sup> By far the largest number come from the test excavations at Iṣṭakhr, about six kilometers north-northeast of Persepolis at the foot of the mountain known as the Kūh-i Raḥmat. The date of the initial founding of Iṣṭakhr is obscure, but at all events there is plentiful archaeological evidence of the city's importance in Sasanian and early Islamic times. A much smaller number of coins (73 to be exact) were recovered in the limited excavations at Naqsh-e Rostam, the site of the famous rock tombs of the Achaemenian kings and the Sasanian rupestrian sculptures, a little more than six kilometers directly north of Persepolis. At Persepolis itself, aside from the Greek coins discovered in the foundation deposits and elsewhere on the terrace,<sup>2</sup> nineteen miscellaneous coins, ranging in date from the 3rd to the 19th century were found at various spots within and just outside the royal buildings.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, and Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*.

<sup>2</sup> Published in Schmidt, *Persepolis* II, pp. 110–114; and cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, pp. 76–78.

*Iṣṭakhr*

The coins found in the Iṣṭakhr excavations, which took place in 1935 and 1937, received preliminary notice in a paper read at the International Numismatic Congress in Paris in 1953;<sup>3</sup> definitive treatment of the material was delayed first by the second World War and subsequently by numerous other commitments. The nature and results of the excavations have been briefly described by Dr. Schmidt in *The Treasury of Persepolis*, pp. 107–121. While tests were undertaken at a number of points, these excavations were limited in extent and were actually little more than “sondages.” An aerial view of the site (see Plate XIX) shows the location of the various tests:<sup>4</sup> 1) a test in the center to virgin soil; 2) a trench west of the center in the Islamic stratum; 3) a poorly defined gate structure in the north-west area near the edge of the mound; 4) a trench in the extreme west exposing almost exclusively Sasanian foundations and some remnants of Islamic buildings; and 5) a long north-south trench with random separated plots east of the modern village fort (popularly known as the Takht-i Ṭā’us), all Islamic. No systematic records of coin finds were available to me of other tests conducted by Ernst Herzfeld previous to Dr. Schmidt’s excavations.<sup>5</sup>

In the two seasons’ operations at Iṣṭakhr 1,051 coins were recovered.<sup>6</sup> “Of these the vast majority, over 900, were Islamic. Only 19 were pre-Sasanian, and, somewhat surprisingly in view of the importance of Iṣṭakhr in Sasanian times, only 60 were definitely attributable to the Sasanians. One

<sup>3</sup> Published in Miles, *A brief Report*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 108, and Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 492.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 107; Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 492.

<sup>6</sup> 1,053 were reported in Miles, *A brief Report*, but two pieces were later rejected as not being coins.

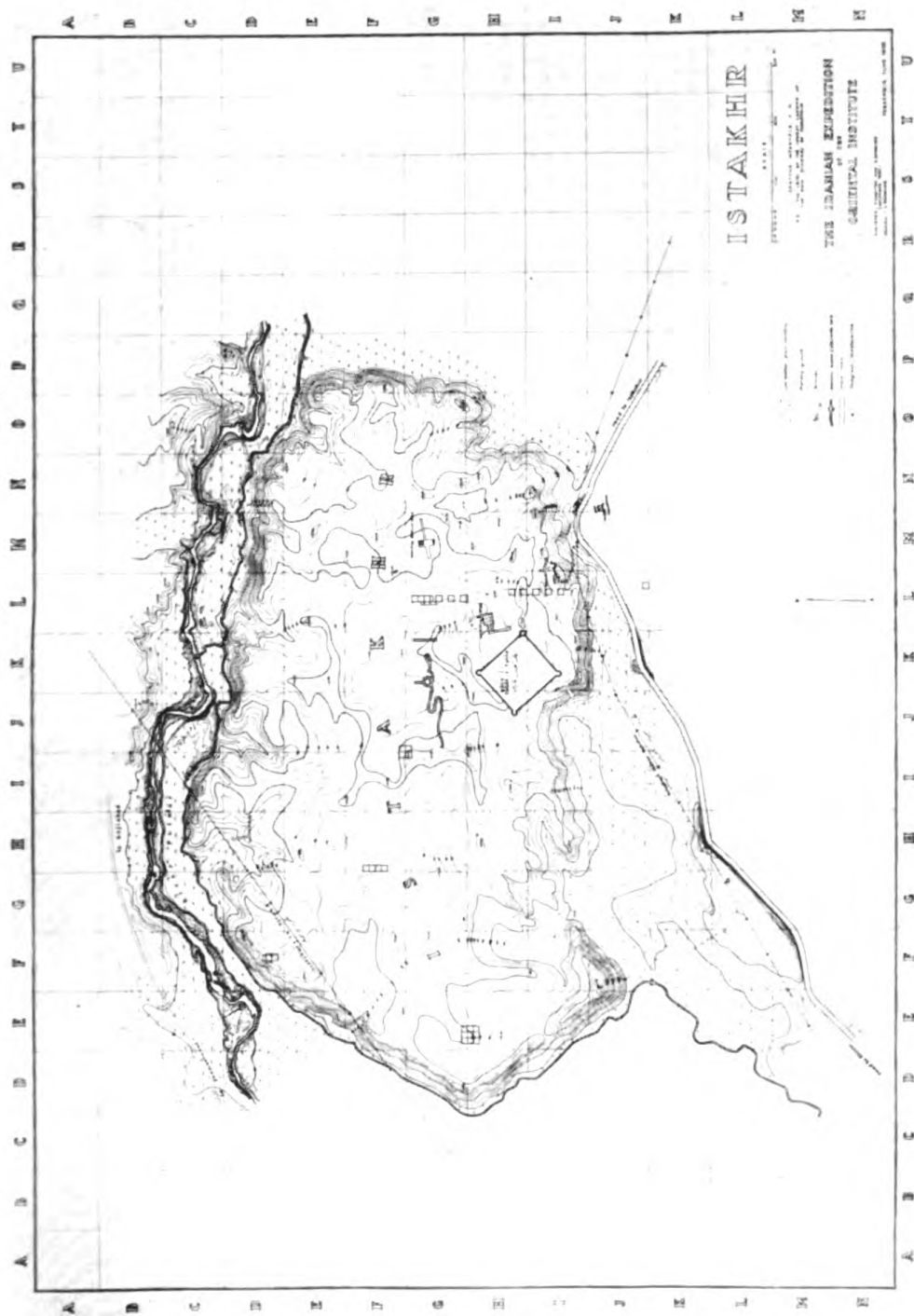


Fig. 1



should, however, remark that these proportions are scarcely a reliable reflection of the relative importance of the several eras in terms of the area occupied or the size of the population at different times. The total area of the site is extensive: the circumvallated inner city measures 1,400 meters from east to west, and 650 meters from north to south. While the fortified enceinte evidently dates from the Sasanian period and continued to define the city proper in early Islam, the suburbs spread far beyond the city walls.”<sup>7</sup> A careful examination of the aerial view of the site, or of the plan with overlaid grid (Fig. 1)<sup>8</sup> “demonstrates how relatively insignificant a portion of the total area was tested, and one can therefore reasonably assume that the almost total absence of pre-Sasanian numismatic material, the relative paucity of Sasanian coins and the preponderance of Islamic numismatic evidence is fortuitous, and that further excavations in other sections of the site might present us with quite a different numismatic pattern and a correspondingly different picture of the density and importance of the various cultural occupations.”<sup>9</sup>

However this may be, the excavated coins point clearly to the importance and prosperity of Iṣṭakhr in early Islamic days: that is, in the late 7th century and throughout the 8th. The following table shows the distribution of coins unearthed in the Iṣṭakhr excavations according to broad chronological categories:

<sup>7</sup> Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 491.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 108. A few ten-meter squares adjoining the test trenches, which were partially excavated, are not indicated on this plan.

<sup>9</sup> Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 492.



Greek	1
Persis	15
Elymais	3
Sasanian	68
Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian	14
Arab-Sasanian	74
Byzantine	2
Umayyad (post-reform)	78
‘Abbāsid partisans	2
Umayyad or ‘Abbāsid	58
‘Abbāsid	546
Sāmānid	1
Būyid	3
Seljūq(?)	1
Ilkhānid	2
Autonomous Persian	1
Qājār	1
Unidentifiable	181
	<hr/>
	1051 <sup>10</sup>

The ‘Abbāsid is by far the largest class, and of this class all but ten coins (nos. 521, 553, 615, 850–856) are dated, or datable, before the year 200 of the Hijrah (815 A.D.). The preponderance of 8th century bronzes among excavation coins in the regions of the Eastern Caliphate has been remarked on before. As I observed in the preliminary publication of this material, “Just how important this fact is with respect to the dating of levels, buildings and objects it is difficult to say. The paucity of copper coins struck in Persia

<sup>10</sup> It will be noted that the highest number in the catalogue is 1046; the discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that there are five lettered sub-numbers in the catalogue: 602a and 849a, b, c and d. Thus  $1046 + 5 = 1051$ . There are some differences of categorization and sub-totals between the present definitive listing and the summary table presented in *A brief Report*, pp. 492–493; these relatively insignificant changes are the result of closer study and reorganization of the material.

after the end of the second century H. (at least down to the Mongol period) is a well-known phenomenon, and it was my experience also in the excavations at Rayy that the vast majority of copper coins (and of course copper coins predominate in excavation finds) found at all Islamic levels were of the second half of the 2nd century. This was true also at Antioch. Whatever other causes there may have been to explain the limitation of copper issues in later centuries, it is quite possible that the large volume of coppers struck under the rules of al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdi and Hārūn al-Rashīd met the needs for small change of most communities throughout the East for several centuries.<sup>11</sup>

Among the 'Abbāsīd coins are no less than 24 hitherto unpublished issues (30, if varieties are counted): including one of Arrajān, four of Ardashīr-Khurrah, five of Iṣṭakhr, one of al-Ahwāz, one of Birāmqubadh, one of Jayy, three of Sābūr, one of Shīrāz, one of Fārs, two of Fasā, one of Wāsiṭ, and one without mint name. Three new mints are recorded: Jūr, the specific mint name for the chief town of the district of Ardashīr-Khurrah; Tawwaj, a town near Kāzirūn in the Ardashīr-Khurrah district; and Kūrat al-Mahdiyyah min Fārs, a temporary official name for Ardashīr-Khurrah.<sup>12</sup> Some of these coins bear names of officials and fill gaps in the recorded history of 'Abbāsīd administration.

The next most numerous category is the post-reform

<sup>11</sup> Miles, *A brief Report*, p. 493. One should be cautious, however, in applying these generalizations too widely. At Jericho practically all the excavated Islamic coins were Umayyad (G. C. Miles, "Catalogue of Islamic Coins, The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951," in *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XXXII-XXXIII, for 1952-4, pp. 29-41); and at Tarsus the majority of the Islamic bronzes were of the 3rd century H. (G. C. Miles, "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935-1937," in *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman on the Occasion of her Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Locust Valley, 1956, pp. 297-312).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *A brief Report*, pp. 495-496, written before I had discovered the identity of this designation.

Umayyad, and here again we find several unpublished types: three of Iṣṭakhr, one of Sābūr, one of Shīrāz, one (or two?) of Wāsiṭ and at least one with no mint name.

Only slightly less numerous are the pre-reform Arab-Sasanian coins and it is in this group that we find the most interesting material. Aside from a few dirhems which are comparable to published varieties, virtually everything in this category is new. Unfortunately, except for the silver dirhems, these coins are in a miserable state of preservation, as the plates will attest, and are for the most part exceedingly obscure; but what remains is of remarkable interest and adds much to our knowledge of the transitional period between the Arab conquest of Iran and the adoption of a standardized purely Arab coinage at the very end of the 7th century.<sup>13</sup> It is not surprising to learn that at least ten of these issues (probably we would be able to say most of them, if the mint name was preserved in every instance) were struck at Iṣṭakhr itself. Especially noteworthy are the following: an issue of al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah (?) with MUHLUP in Pahlevi and what appears to be a purely epigraphical Pahlevi reverse (no. 137); another issue evidently of the same governor with two varieties of busts, the one on the obverse Arab and that on the reverse copied from an exceptional type of Khosrau II, the divinity with the flaming headdress (nos. 138-141); two issues possibly attributable to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath, one with a conventional Sasanian obverse but accompanied by an Arabic inscription, and a purely epigraphical Pahlevi reverse, and the other a hybrid Sasanian Arab-Byzantine coin showing the Caliph “orans” (nos. 142-143); another hybrid with

<sup>13</sup> In view of the number of hitherto unknown types among these coins one wonders how much more interesting and valuable numismatic material of local origin may lie beneath the ground on the sites of many other abandoned and unexcavated Sasanian and early Arab towns in Iran. Cf. Walker, *Coins from Susa*.

a Byzantine-derived cross on the reverse (nos. 146–147); an issue with Sasanian obverse and an epigraphical reverse bearing the declaration of Moslem faith in Kufic and the mint name in Pahlevi (nos. 148–149); several specimens with a modified Sasanian bust, the name of the Caliph al-Walīd (?) and Arabic epigraphical reverse (nos. 155–159).

No dates are preserved on any of these Arab-Sasanian bronzes, but for various reasons explained in the catalogue, I have assigned most of them to the years between 75 and 90 H. (between 694 and 709 A.D.), a few as early as ca. 60 H. (679 A.D.) and a few possibly as late as 120 H. (738 A.D.). While theoretically ‘Abd al-Malik’s coinage reform went into full effect in 79 H. (698 A.D.), we know that a few dirhems of Arab-Sasanian type were struck as late as 84 H. (703 A.D.);<sup>14</sup> and it is not too unexpected to find that governors and mint-masters continued even later to experiment with new adaptations in their local bronze coinage.

A few words about the specific find-spots of the coins from the Iṣṭakhr excavations. The largest number of coins from any single area was found in the 1935 excavations of four ten-meter squares in the center (no. 1 on Plate XIX, and see Plate XX): some 240 specimens. The other 1935 trench (no. 4 on Plate XIX) produced about 40 coins (plus six more in 1937). The balance of the recovered coins was scattered widely throughout the rest of the excavations, with relatively heavy concentrations in the area of the “poorly defined gate structure” (no. 3 on Plate XIX) and in three squares (GL 35, HL 76 and IL 56) of the long trench east of the fort (no. 5 on Plate XIX). The large number from the area of the gate structure is chiefly accounted for by the finding in pit no. 1 of DF 65 (field no. I-2-1520) of 74 coins in an oxidized lump

<sup>14</sup> See Walker, NC 1952, p. 108, and Miles, *Kirmān*. See also André Grabar, *L’Iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), pp. 67–74, for the most recent and thorough discussion of the Arab coinage reform, particularly in its relationship to the innovations of Justinian II.

2.70 meters below the mouth of the pit. Whether a beaker with molded design, unearthed in the pit 1.90 meters above the coins, had any connection with this lot is uncertain. In any case this hoard or accumulation of coins is homogeneous and appears to have been placed or lost in the pit toward the very end of the 2nd century of the Hijrah: 23 unidentifiable specimens are 'Abbāsīd of the 2nd century (no. 633 of the catalogue), 20 are of Shīrāz, 192 H. (no. 522), five are of Sābūr, 183 H. (no. 510), five unidentifiable assigned to the "Umayyad or 'Abbāsīd" group (no. 258), two each of Ardashīr-Khurrah, 182 H., Iṣṭakhr, 182 H., and Fasā, 182 H. (nos. 327, 478 and 562), and the rest, single specimens ranging in date from ca. 80–100 H. (no. 172) to 182 H. The earliest actually dated is a single specimen of Iṣṭakhr, 104 H. (no. 179).

There were two other sizable groups of coins found together in the Iṣṭakhr excavations. One was the lot of ten silver coins of Persis datable to about the 1st c. A.D. (nos. 3–12 of the catalogue) excavated in the south-west quarter of the center test (no. 1 on Plate XIX), among pre-Islamic debris 3.80 meters below the surface. These coins were stuck together but relatively lightly oxidized, and there was no trace of a container. The other group, field no. I–1–928, clearly constituted a hoard and comprised 33 Arab-Sasanian silver dirhems (catalogue nos. 103–134). All were issues of a single governor, 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh, and were struck at the same mint, Bishāpūr: five of the year 67 H., two of 68 H. and 26 of 70 H., i.e., 686–690 A.D. This hoard also was found in the center test, in the north-east quarter of the 20 × 20 meter square. The coins, partly stuck together and partly loose, were recovered from a pit, 9.27 meters below its mouth, which in turn was 2.35 meters below the surface.

*Persepolis Terrace*

The few post-classical coins found on the Persepolis terrace and nearby (pp. 85–90), range in date from Sasanian to the 19th century and have no archaeological relevance. The five coins from the PT-3 excavations (1935 season) are of the Mongol and Muẓaffarid periods (14th century) and later, and all came from the partial excavation of the large cistern on the slopes of the Kūh-i Raḥmat just east of the Treasury.<sup>15</sup> The ten coins recovered in the 1937 excavations (PT-5) were stray finds in the debris north of the Apadana.<sup>16</sup> The dates range from Sasanian to autonomous Persian of the 18th or 19th century. Finally four coins (three ‘Abbāsīd and one Mongol) were picked up at various points on the surface or among refuse during the final season of 1939 (PT-7).

*Naqsh-i Rostam*

During two seasons’ work (1936 and 1938–1939) at the foot of the cliffs of Naqsh-i Rostam 73 coins were recovered, chronologically distributed as follows:

Persis	1
Sasanian	28
Arab-Sasanian	27
Post-reform Umayyad	3
‘Abbāsīd	8
Ilkhānīd	1
Ilkhānīd or successor	1
Muẓaffarīd	2
Unidentifiable Islamic	2
	<hr/>
	73

<sup>15</sup> See Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, p. 212; and cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>16</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pp. 4, 70–72.

Of particular interest was a hoard of 36 Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian dirhems,<sup>17</sup> unearthed on the floor of what appears to have been a rather extensive building of the early Islamic period, about one meter below the surface in front of the rock tomb of Darius I (see Plate XXI). No container was preserved. The hoard consisted of 12 Sasanian and 24 Arab-Sasanian coins. Of the Sasanian two were of Hormizd IV (catalogue nos. 4 and 5), the earlier of which is dated 583 A.D.,<sup>18</sup> and ten of Khosrau II, ranging in date from 596 to 626 A.D. (nos. 4-9, 11-14, 16-17). Several governors are represented among the Arab-Sasanian specimens: one anonymous of the year 651/2 (no. 30), one of Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān of 672/3 (no. 33), one of 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād of 681/2 (no. 34), two of 'Abdullāh b. Zubayr of the years 685/6 and 688/9 (nos. 31-32), 16 of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh of the years 686-690 (nos. 35-50), two of 'Aṭīyah b. al-Aswad of 692/3 and 693/4 (nos. 51-52), and one of Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'ah of 694/5 (no. 53). The Arab-Sasanian dates range therefore from 651-695, with the heaviest concentration between 685 and 690; and the over-all dates of the hoard are 583-695. It is interesting, but not surprising, to note that Sasanian dirhems, not counterstamped, appear to have circulated along with the Arab-Sasanian. In general appearance, of course, these coins are very similar and only the literate could have distinguished between a dirhem of Khosrau II and one of an Arab governor.

The distribution of mints in the hoard is of some interest. The coins of Hormizd IV and Khosrau II were struck at seven mints: Nihāvand (4), Rayy (2), Merv (2), Nahr-Tīrâ, Darabjird, Shīrajān (?) and Zaranj (1 each). Thus six dif-

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 98, and G. C. Miles, "King of Kings to Counter-Caliph," in *Archaeology*, 1948, pp. 126-128.

<sup>18</sup> The dates of the Sasanian coins of course are in regnal years, those of the Arab-Sasanian either in the Yezdigird or Hijrah eras, but in this summary all are reduced to the Christian calendar.

ferent provinces are represented: Khurāsān, Sīstān, Kirmān, Fārs, Jibāl and Khūzistān (from east to west). The mints represented in the Arab-Sasanian portion of the hoard are the same in number but are geographically more concentrated: Bishāpūr (14), Kirmān (3), Darabjird (2), an uncertain mint višp etc. (2), Nahr-Tīrâ, Ardashīr-Khurrah, Baṣrah (1 each). The majority, therefore, are from the province of Fārs (17 specimens at least, or 19, if, as is probable, the uncertain mint is located in that province), and the rest from the neighboring provinces of Kirmān, Khūzistān and ‘Irāq.

Two unique and very interesting Arab-Sasanian bronzes (nos. 54 and 55) also came from the Naqsh-i Rostam excavations: a hybrid Byzantine Arab-Sasanian piece with a facing bearded head surmounted by a cross on the obverse and an M reverse accompanied by legible Pahlavi inscriptions (the name of Ištakhr written out almost in full, and the word *apastān*); and an equally remarkable coin with a new type of bust combined with Kufic legends of post-reform type.

While the Sasanian, Umayyad and early ‘Abbāsīd coins from Naqsh-i Rostam are perhaps to be associated with settlements there, the post-‘Abbāsīd specimens, like all the Islamic coins from the Persepolis Terrace, have no real archaeological significance and are simply evidence of the visits of “tourists” throughout the ages at this spectacular site.

It will be noted that the catalogue is in three parts: Ištakhr, pp. 19–84, Persepolis Terrace, pp. 85–90, Naqsh-i Rostam, pp. 91–107. In each section the arrangement is basically chronological, with sub-divisions, where appropriate, according to mints. For the convenience of the excavator and archaeologist whose interest is primarily in the provenience of each coin as evidence for the dating of levels or of objects, an Inventory of Field Catalogue numbers, in numerical order, is appended at the end of the numismatic catalogue (pp. 108–115). Opposite each field number is the



catalogue number under which that coin is described. In numerous instances there is more than one specimen of a given type (e.g., nos. 344-363 are all specimens of a single issue of Iṣṭakhr, 140 H.); only the initial catalogue number of this series (344) is listed in this concordance.

Following each description in the numismatic catalogue are the field numbers of the relevant coins (I-1 = Iṣṭakhr, 1935; I-2 = Iṣṭakhr, 1937; PT-3, PT-5, PT-7 = Persepolis Terrace, 1935, 1937 and 1939, respectively; NR-1, NR-2 = Naqsh-i Rostam, 1936 and 1938-1939, respectively). This number is followed by the abbreviation for the metal, the diameter in millimeters, and the weight in grams. In many cases the weight was not recorded in the field, or even if recorded, is omitted here because of the fragmentary state of preservation. Frequently only a small fraction of the legends is preserved but it has been possible to assign the coin to a given issue because one or more particular characteristics are present. In some cases where there are only two or three specimens of a hitherto unpublished issue the transcription of the legends is composite: that is, the inscriptions have been reconstructed by piecing together complementary bits from each specimen.

The coins from the 1935 and 1936 excavations were originally catalogued at Persepolis by the writer. Those from the subsequent years were preliminarily recorded by Wilhelm Eilers. Approximately half of the coins are now the property of the Oriental Institute, the others of the Iranian Government, stored in the Archaeological Museum in Teheran. The writer's work was facilitated by the temporary deposit of all the former at the Museum of the American Numismatic Society and by photographs, taken in the field, of a large percentage of the coins now in the possession of the Iranian Government. A few of the latter, however, from the Iṣṭakhr excavations, were neither photographed nor described on field inventory cards because of their generally hopeless con-

dition, and these are included statistically in the “unidentifiable” category (nos. 866–1046).

It remains only for me to thank Dr. Schmidt, under whom I worked for three happy years at Rayy and in Luristan in 1934–1936, for giving me the opportunity to study this interesting body of material and for waiting so patiently all these years for its publication.

New York

July 1958

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## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- Allotte de la Fuÿe—F.-M. Allotte de la Fuÿe, "Inventaire des monnaies trouvées à Suse pendant la campagne de fouilles 1925 to 1926," etc., in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, XX (1928).
- Antioch—G. C. Miles, "Islamic Coins," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, Part One, pp. 109ff. (Princeton, 1948).
- Ars Islamica—*Ars Islamica*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1934–1951.
- Ars Orientalis—*Ars Orientalis*, Washington, D.C. and Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1954–.
- Balādhuri—Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān* (ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1866).
- Berlin—H. Nützel, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, I, *Die Münzen der östlichen Chalifen* (Berlin, 1898).
- B.M. i–x—S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vols. i–x (London, 1875–1890).
- B.M. Arab-Byzantine—John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins* (*A Catalogue of the Muḥammadan Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. II), London, 1956.
- B.M. Arab-Sasanian—John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (*ibid.*, Vol. I), London, 1941.
- B.M. Arabia etc.—G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (*Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*), London, 1922.
- B.M. Shāhs of Persia—R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shāhs of Persia in the British Museum* (London, 1887).
- EI—*Encyclopaedia of Islām* (1st ed. 1913–1938; 2nd ed. beginning 1954).
- Fārsnāma—*The Fārsnāma of Ibnu'l-Balkhī*, ed. G. le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, I (London, 1921).
- Göbl—Robert Göbl, "Aufbau der Münzprägung," in F. Altheim und Ruth Stiehl, *Ein Asiatischer Staat* (Wiesbaden, 1954), pp. 51 ff.

- Hudūd al-‘Ālam—Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, ‘The Regions of the World,’ *A Persian Geography*, 372 A.H.–982 A.D., transl. V. Minorsky, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, XI (London, 1937).
- Le Strange—G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930).
- Miles, *A brief Report*—G. C. Miles, “A brief Report on the Coins found in the Excavations at Iṣṭakhr, 1935 and 1937,” in *Actes, Congrès International de Numismatique, Paris, 6–11 Juillet 1953* (Paris, 1957), pp. 491–496.
- Miles, *Kirmān*—G. C. Miles, “Some new Light on the History of Kirmān in the First Century of the Hijrah,” in press.
- Miles, *Miḥrāb and ‘Anazah*—G. C. Miles, “Miḥrāb and ‘Anazah: A Study in early Islamic Iconography,” in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952), pp. 156–171.
- Miles, *Museum Notes VII*—G. C. Miles, “Some Arab-Sasanian and related Coins,” in *Museum Notes* (American Numismatic Society) VII (N.Y., 1957), pp. 187–209.
- de Morgan—J. de Morgan, *Numismatique de la Perse Antique* (E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines, III, Monnaies orientales*, Tome I), Paris, 1933.
- de Morgan, *Manuel*—J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique orientale* (ed. K. J. Basmadjian), I (Paris, 1923–1936).
- NC—*Numismatic Chronicle* (London).
- NHR—G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (American Numismatic Society *Numismatic Studies* No. 2), New York, 1938.
- Paris—H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, *Khalifes orientaux* (Paris, 1887).
- Paruck—F. D. J. Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins* (Bombay, 1924).
- RIC—G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins* (American Numismatic Society *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 118), New York, 1950.
- RN—*Revue Numismatique* (Paris).
- Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*—Erich F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis and other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achaemenians* (Oriental Institute Communications, No. 21, Chicago, 1939).

- Schmidt, *Persepolis*—Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I, Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. LXVIII, Chicago, 1953); *Persepolis II, Contents of the Treasury and other Discoveries* (Or. Inst. Publs., Vol. LXIX, Chicago, 1957).
- Ṭabari—Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* (ed. de Goeje *et al.*), Leyden, 1879–1901.
- Tiesenhausen—W. Tiesenhausen, *Moneti vostochnavo khalifata*, St. Petersburg, 1873.
- Unvala, NC 1937—J. M. Unvala, “Quelques monnaies arabes à légendes pehlevies et quelques autres monnaies bilingues pehlevie-arabes,” in NC 1937, pp. 280–296.
- Walker, *Bishāpūr*—J. Walker, “Monnaies sassanides et arabes provenant des fouilles de Bîchâpour,” in Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, Série Archéologique, Tome VII, *Fouilles de Châpour*, Vol. II, R. Ghirshman, *Les Mosaïques Sassanides* (Paris, 1956).
- Walker, *Coins from Susa*—J. Walker, “Some early Arab and Byzantine-Sasanian Coins from Susa,” in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952), pp. 235–243.
- Walker, NC 1952—J. Walker, “Some new Arab-Sassanian Coins,” in NC 1952, pp. 106–110.
- Welin, *Wāsiṭ*—Ulla S. Linder Welin, “Wāsiṭ, the Mint-Town,” in *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1955–1956, IV, pp. 127–169.
- Yāqūt—*Muʿjam al-Buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), Leipzig, 1866–1870.
- Zambaur—E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Hannover, 1927).



## İŞTAKHR EXCAVATIONS

### I. MACEDONIA—ALEXANDER THE GREAT (POSTHUMOUS)

#### 1. Alexander III. Ca. 310–300 B.C. Susa. Bronze.

Head of Herakles, r., Nike standing, holding  
wearing elephant skin. wreath. At l., head of  
horned horse; at r.,

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

I-2-1564 Æ 17, 6.13.

PLATE I

Cf. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Macedonia, Part II* (Copenhagen, 1943), no. 1065. For the horned horse symbol see E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (ANS Numismatic Studies, No. 1, New York, 1938), pl. XXII.

### II. PERSIS

Of the 15 coins of Persis ten (nos. 3–12) were found in one spot, GI 09, and form a definitely related group. The others were scattered finds. The chronological arrangement below is based largely on G. F. Hill's attributions in *B. M. Arabia etc.* Hill's preface, pp. clx–clxxxii, summarizes all the earlier literature and especially Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe's important article in *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 63–97. References also are made to de Morgan and to de Morgan, *Manuel*. G. F. Hill's *The Coinage of the Ancient Persians* in *Survey of Persian Art* (1938), I, pp. 402–403, IV, pl. 126, is brief and does not illustrate or discuss specifically the types represented here.



## 2. Pakur, son of Oxathres? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Obol.

Bust of king, l., bearded; Triskeles. Around, illegible inscription.  
thick back hair; wearing  
diadem, torque and robe.

I-I-894  $\mathcal{R}$  11, 0.35.

PLATE I

Cf. *B.M. Arabia etc.*, p. 229, no. 3, pl. XXXV, 3; de Morgan, p. 410, nos. 47, 48, pl. XXXII, 7, 8.

This coin belongs to Hill's Fourth Series, which he dates from the 1st century after Christ to about 224 A.D.; Oxathres is assigned by him to the 1st c. B.C. De Morgan (*Manuel*, p. 271) places Piruz I (= Pakur?) immediately after Oxathres (perhaps Gocithres of Isidore of Charax), and he dates the latter ca. 57-38 B.C.

## 3. Pakur? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Drachm.

Bust of king, l., bearded; As obverse, but legend,  
thick back hair; wearing if any, effaced.  
diadem, torque and robe  
with fringe of vertical  
stripes. Behind head, leg-  
end: ~~𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠~~

I-I-911a  $\mathcal{R}$  25, 3.85.

PLATE I

This type (and cf. nos. 4-14, below) appears to be unpublished. The closest parallel perhaps is *B. M. Arabia etc.*, p. 229, no. 4, pl. XLVIII, 17. Cf. also de Morgan, pp. 410 to 411, nos. 49-50, pl. XXXII, 9-12, assigned to Piruz II, the second ruler after Oxathres (de Morgan, *Manuel*, p. 271). The inscription is undeciphered.

## 4-7. Pakur? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Hemidrachm.

Similar in style to no. 3, but of crude fabric, slightly scyphate, details obscure. No recognizable legends, except possible traces on no. 5.

I-1-911b, c, d, e *℞* 22, 21, 21, 23; 1.60, 1.00, 1.60, 1.25. PLATE I

Cf. no. 3, above, and *B. M. Arabia etc.*, p. 230, nos. 7-9, pl. XXXV, 5-6.

### 8-12. Pakur? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Obol.

Similar in style to nos. 4-7. No legends remain.

I-1-911f, g, h, i, j *℞* 14, 14, 13, 14; 0.40, 0.50, 0.45, 0.70 (j is a small fragment). PLATE I

Cf. nos. 3-7, above, and *B. M. Arabia etc.*, p. 230, nos. 10-11, pl. XXXV, 7-8.

### 13. Pakur? Ca. 1st c. A.D. Drachm.

In general similar to nos. 3-12, but of somewhat superior fabric and evidently a different issue. On both obverse and reverse, behind the head, traces of legend. In front of chin, both obverse and reverse, letter Δ or A. Note fringe of robe, similar to no. 3.

I-1-914 *℞* 19, 3.25.

PLATE I

### 14. Kapat or Napat? Ca. late 1st c. A.D. Obol.

Bust of king, l., bearded;  
wearing tiara with neck  
piece.

Crude bust, l., bearded;  
wearing diadem. Around,  
traces of legend or simu-  
lated legend.

I-2-1528 *℞* 8.5, 0.38.

PLATE I

Cf. *B. M. Arabia etc.*, pp. 233-234, nos. 12-20 (hemidrachms), pl. XXXV, 20-25, and pl. XXXVI, 1-2 (obverse of the hemi-obol, p. 234, no. 21, pl. XXXVI, 3, is different); cf. also de Morgan, p. 412, pl. XXXIII, 1-13 (Napat, or de Morgan, *Manuel*, 4th king after Oxathres).

## 15. Uncertain. 1st or 2nd c. A.D. Hemidrachm?

Bust of king, l., with short beard; wearing tiara with 3 rows of pellets and symbol ☺; diadem, torque and robe; behind head, triskeles.

"Formal representation of a double diadem with ties" (*B.M.*); around, bottoms of letters of legend(?).

I-1-907  $\mathcal{R}$  13, 1.20.

PLATE I

Cf. *B. M. Arabia etc.*, pp. 237-238, nos. 3-15, pl. XXXVI, 14-19, pl. XLVIII, 15; de Morgan, pp. 413-414, pl. XXXII, 22-26; de Morgan, *Manuel*, p. 284. These coins, related to the Kapat series, are attributed by de Morgan to "Prince Y," some time between ca. 38 B.C. and 200 A.D. De Morgan describes the reverse type as "figuration barbare du pyrée (?)."

16. Artaxerxes V of Persis = the Sasanian Artaxerxes I?  
Ca. 210-226 A.D.? Bronze.

Effaced.

Simple fire-altar with 2 steps, column, broad circular or rectangular basin, and flames. At r. and l., T-shaped stools or supports. Border of dots.

I-1-897  $\mathcal{A}$  17, 2.00.

PLATE I

Cf. de Morgan, pp. 418-419, pl. XXXIV, 24?; de Morgan, *Manuel*, p. 288, fig. 372.

## III. ELYMAIS

17. Phraates, son of Orodes. Early 2nd c. A.D. Bronze.  
Obscure and largely effaced.

I-2-1894  $\mathcal{A}$  14.

Cf. *B. M. Arabia etc.*, type Ac, 2, p. 278, nos. 58ff., pl. XLI, 26.

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correct, and I have therefore assigned the present specimen to Bahram III. One distinctive feature here is to be noticed: the streamers usually present at the base of the globe surmounting the crown<sup>21</sup> are definitely lacking.

**21.** Khosrau I. Year 27 or 28 = 558 or 559 A.D. Nihāvand. Dirhem.

Usual type. Mint signature: 

I-I-105 Æ 29 (fragmentary).

PLATE I

**22.** Khosrau II. 590-628 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Bronze.

Usual type of Khosrau II's silver, but in bronze. Reverse, at r.: 

I-I-243b Æ 16.

**23.** Khosrau II. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Bronze.

Resembles no. 22, but reverse, at r.: 

I-I-339 Æ 17.


PLATE II

**24-28.** Khosrau II. Mints and dates, if any, not preserved. Bronze.

Obscure coins with portrait resemblance and fragments of name legend.

I-I-325, 370, 635, 882, 918 (11-18 mm.).

**29.** Khosrau II (probably). Ištākhr. Bronze.

Obscure and crude obverse and reverse resembling Khosrau II type. Reverse, at r., . Obverse and reverse enclosed by double or triple beaded borders.

I-I-220 Æ 17.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Paruck, pl. VIII, 161-164. Two specimens in Bartholomaei's collection (*ibid.*, pl. V, 2 and 4) appear to lack these streamers, but one cannot tell whether they are actually lacking or whether the specimens were worn at this point and not visible to the plate engraver.

**30.** Khosrau II (probably). Iṣṭakhr (?). Bronze.

Similar to no. 29, but mint signature obscure.

I-1-941 Æ 15.

PLATE II



**31-87.** Unidentifiable Sasanian bronzes. 6th-early 7th c.

57 obscure and largely effaced coins, mostly not exceeding 17 mm. in diameter.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

## V. SASANIAN OR ARAB-SASANIAN

**88-101.** Unidentifiable Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian bronzes. 6th-7th c.

14 obscure and largely effaced coins showing traces of usual late Sasanian types; some with possible  mint signature, one (I-2-1785d) with possible  (Bishāpūr) mint signature. Diameters: 16-22 mm.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

## VI. ARAB-SASANIAN

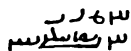
## A. SILVER




## a) 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh

## 1. Ardashīr-Khurrah

**102.** 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh. 68 H. = 687/8 A.D. TART = Ardashīr-Khurrah. Dirhem.


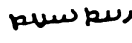
Usual bust. At r., name:



Star l. and r. of crown. In margin:   

Usual fire-altar and attendants; star l., crescent

r. At r., mint signature:

 At l., date: 

I-2-1732 Æ 31 (two sectors lacking).

PLATE II

Unpublished, but cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. 98–99, Ardashīr-Khurrah (normal spelling ART), 68, 69 and 70 H. Walker (*B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. cxxx) suggests that TART is the same as ART, “with an added prefix of uncertain value.” The provenance of the present specimen is a small piece of evidence in support of this reasonable attribution. To Walker’s list of individuals issuing coins at this mint should now be added Qaṭari b. al-Fujā’ah (Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, p. 203, no. 42) and ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydullāh. For some comment on the town of Ardashīr-Khurrah, see nos. 317–318, below.

## 2. Bishāpūr

**103-107.**<sup>22</sup> The same. 67 H. = 686/7 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 99, no. 194, but without countermarks and  $\omega$  correct. Mint signature is Walker’s no. 12b (which also *B. M.* no. 194 has, although the catalogue gives no. 12). Star l., crescent r. of flames.

I-I-928/1  $\mathcal{R}$  31, 3.54.

PLATE II

928/2  $\mathcal{R}$  32, 3.47 (frg. lacking).

928/3  $\mathcal{R}$  32, 3.27 (frg. lacking).

928/4  $\mathcal{R}$  31, 3.50.

928/5  $\mathcal{R}$  31, 2.20 (frgs. lacking).

**108-108a.** The same. 68 H. = 687/8 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 99, no. 195, but mint signature is no. 12b.

I-I-928/6  $\mathcal{R}$  31, 3.38.

PLATE II

928/7  $\mathcal{R}$  33, 3.49.

PLATE II

<sup>22</sup> The find-spot of nos. 103–134 has been described on p. 8.

**109-134.** The same. 70 H. = 689/90 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr.  
Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 100, no. 198, but without countermarks. Mint signature no. 12b. Star 1., crescent r. of flames.

I-I-928/8 Æ 31, 3.62.

PLATE II

928/9 Æ 31, 3.50 (frg. lacking).

928/10 Æ 32, 2.28 (large frg. lacking).

928/11 Æ 30, 3.24 (frgs. lacking).

928/12 Æ 30, 3.32.

928/13 Æ 31, 3.80.

928/14 Æ 31, 3.40.

PLATE II

I-I-928/15 Æ 31, 3.67.

PLATE III

928/16 Æ 31, 3.61.

928/17 Æ 32, 3.18.

928/18 Æ 31, 3.59.

928/19 Æ 32, 3.27 (large frg. lacking).

928/20 Æ 31, 2.68 (frg. lacking).

928/21 Æ 30, 3.16 (frgs. lacking).

928/22 Æ 31, 3.30 (frgs. lacking).

928/23 Æ 32, 3.35 (frgs. lacking).

928/24 Æ 30, 2.27 (frg. lacking).

928/25 Æ 31, 3.02 (frg. lacking).

928/26 Æ 31, 3.41.

928/27 Æ 31, 3.35 (frg. lacking).

928/28 Æ 31, 3.54.

928/29 Æ 31, 3.43.

928/30 Æ 32, 3.57.

928/31 Æ 31, 3.55.

928/32 Æ 31, 3.77.

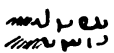
928/33 Æ 31, 3.47.




## B. BRONZE

1. *Iṣṭakhr*

- 135.** ‘Abdullāh b. Zubayr? Ca. 63–72 H. = ca. 682–692 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., of Khosrau II  
type. At r.: 

Double beaded border. Only  
1st quarter of margin pre-  
served.

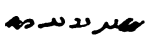
Usual fire-altar and at-  
tendants. At l.: coin lack-  
ing. At r.: . Double  
beaded border. Only 1st  
quarter of margin pre-  
served.

I-2-1790 Æ 27 (very fragmentary).

PLATE III

This coin appears to be an issue in bronze of the dirhem type bearing ‘Abdullāh’s name accompanied by the Pahlavi equivalent of *amīr al-mu’mīnīn*.<sup>23</sup>

- 136.** ‘Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. 6X H. = 679–687 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.


Similar to the dirhems of this governor. Date: 

I-2-1653 Æ 22.

PLATE III

The British Museum has a bronze of ‘Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād, also struck at Iṣṭakhr, date 59 H. (?).<sup>24</sup> The flan of the latter specimen is somewhat larger, but the dies are of the same size as those with which the present coin was struck.

- 137.** Al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah (?). Ca. 75–78 H. (?) = ca. 694–697 A.D. (?). Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.


Bust, r., somewhat re-  
sembling that of Khos-  
rau II. At l.: . At r.:



The space in the center  
may be occupied by a sec-

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. 33ff. Note that there are Iṣṭakhr dirhems of 63 (?) — there are two probably of this date in the Yale University collection — and 66 H.

<sup>24</sup> *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 73, no. 108.

سلبه • MUHLUP (Muhallab?). Beaded border, interrupted by winged headdress. In margin:  at bottom and left (?). Traces of legend in 1st and 2nd quarters.



ond line of inscription, or perhaps the coin should be turned 90 degrees and the center taken as an altar, without attendants.



I-2-1727 Æ 20.

PLATE III

The attribution is uncertain, but the name almost certainly is MUHLU(or A)P. Cf. the dirhems of al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah in *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. 113-116.

**138-141.** Al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah (?). Ca. 75-78 H. (?) = ca. 694-697 A.D. (?). Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Facing bust, bearded, robed, wearing *kūfiyah*. At l.:  ? At r.:  MUHALIP(-I). Beaded border.

Facing bust, wearing radiant or flaming headdress; ribbons, upward, at either side. At l.: (?)  (AFZUT?); at r.:  (ST). Beaded border.

I-1-149 Æ 16.

PLATE III

885 Æ 17 (rev. effaced).

PLATE III

I-2-1728 Æ 15.

PLATE III

1735 Æ 17.

The best preserved obverse is I-2-1728; the reverse bust and especially the mint signature are well preserved on I-1-149; the obverse of I-1-885 is almost totally effaced.

These extraordinary coins are unpublished, but there is a certain amount of related or comparative material that it would be well to assemble here. The obverse bust bears a close resemblance to the head of the sword-girt Caliph on Arab-Byzantine coins.<sup>25</sup> Admittedly the hair here appears

<sup>25</sup> *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, pp. 22-43, plates VI-VIII. Walker dates those without the Caliph's name or title to ca. 670-685 (50-66 H.), those with titles to ca. 670-690 (50-71 H.), those with 'Abd al-Malik's name to 685 to 705 (65-86 H.).

to be uncovered, but doubtless, as with the Arab-Byzantine coins, the *kūfiyah* is intended.<sup>26</sup> Hybrid Arab-Byzantine-Sasanian coins are not unknown (see the publications of Unvala,<sup>27</sup> Walker,<sup>28</sup> and cf. no. 143, below), but this appears to be the first occurrence of a bust of this type.

As for the reverse, there can be no doubt that this bust is derived from that on certain coins of Khosrau II, the bust with the flaming nimbus which Herzfeld identified as that of the X<sup>v</sup>arāsān X<sup>v</sup>arraḥ (Khurāsān Khurrah), "gloria orientis,"<sup>29</sup> and which also occurs on certain Hephthalite and related coins.<sup>30</sup> A similar bust appears on some small bronze coins found in the French excavations at Shāpūr, which Ghirshman has attributed to Khosrau II, allegedly bearing the dates 16, 20 and 34.<sup>31</sup> The obverse of these coins bears a bust with what appears to be a semi-conventional Sasanian headdress, but I should imagine that it is not out of the question that a close examination of better preserved specimens of this type might reveal some characteristics sug-

<sup>26</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. xxx, lxx and civ.

<sup>27</sup> NC 1937.

<sup>28</sup> Walker, *Coins from Susa*, pp. 238–242; Walker, *Bishāpūr*, p. 188 (no. XI); *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 25; NC 1952, p. 110, no. 4.

<sup>29</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IX (1938), pp. 147–158; cf. also *idem*, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London and New York, 1941), pp. 330–331.

<sup>30</sup> The literature on these Sasanian and Hephthalite coins with the goddess of the flaming nimbus is considerable: see especially the references in Herzfeld's article referred to above; J. Walker in NC 1935, pp. 242–245 (wherein most of the earlier literature is cited); R. B. Whitehead, "Multan: the House of Gold," NC 1937, pp. 60–72; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites* (Paris, 1948), pp. 41–49; cf. J. M. Unvala, "Hephthalite coins with Pahlevi Legends," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, IV (1942), pp. 37 ff.

<sup>31</sup> R. Ghirshman, "Une monnaie de Zyad I. Abu Sofian [*sic*], Gouverneur du Fars," in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, II (Paris, 1939), pp. 697–701, fig. 2. There were apparently four of these coins. On the one illustrated the date is not legible (to me at least). Several corrections should be made in this article: among others, read *abi* for *Abu* throughout; on line 2 of p. 698, read *abīhi*; in footnote 1, p. 699, read 242 for 192.

gesting a post-Sasanian attribution. In any case it is interesting to note that there is at least a precedent, if not a parallel, for the use of the reverse bust with the flaming nimbus on small bronze coins found not far from Iṣṭakhr and undoubtedly of local origin. From the same site comes another remarkably interesting bronze,<sup>32</sup> which Ghirshman attributes to Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān, bearing on the obverse a bust of Sasanian type but with a peculiar and distinctive headdress, and on the reverse a facing bust, "coiffée d'une haute tiare." The name *Ziyād* appears in Pahlevi on the obverse, and Ghirshman's supposition that this is Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān is doubtless correct. On the reverse there are two legends, which Ghirshman reads *šaš panča* (56) and "Bassorah?." In the plate I believe I can see SIHPNJA (53); but the mint signature I cannot read, unless perhaps it is BIŠ for Bishāpūr, which, in view of the fact that the coin is bronze and therefore in all probability of local origin, would be more likely than Baṣrah. If the date is indeed 53, it would well suit Ziyād, who struck dirhems at Bishāpūr in 50, 51, 52, 53 and 54.<sup>33</sup> But irrespective of the legends the chief point of interest is the curious facing bust of the reverse which, as Ghirshman points out, doubtless derives from the type of the divinity with the flaming nimbus. Also probably of the same derivation are nos. 160–161, below.

One other bronze issue undoubtedly struck in Fārs and exhibiting an obverse certainly related to the reverse of the coins under discussion should be mentioned in this connection. Herzfeld<sup>34</sup> writes: "In Alt-Shīrāz sind kleine kupferne obolen gefunden, aus der Zeit Khusraus II oder seiner nachfolger, wo auf der Vs. ein roh gezeichneter männlicher kopf mit dem wie gesträubte haare aussehenden

<sup>32</sup> *Loc. cit.*, fig. 1.

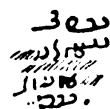
<sup>33</sup> See *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. xlv. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, p. 698, did not have at his command all the data regarding Ziyād's coins and the probable date of his death.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 147, footnote 2.

flammennimbus des feurgottes erscheint, mit beischrift Dārāb oder Dārāy, bei keiner geschichtlichen figur der zeit bekannter name; auf der Rs. ein menschenköpfiger buckelochse mit der krone Khusraus II, in ihrer letzten form, und beischrift āžāδ-bušaspān oder -būspān, der mittelpers. form des medischen gušnasp, gušasp, also wahrscheinlich ein satrapenname: Dārāb S. d. Āzādhbushasp, während die bilder den Feurgott *Adhur* und das Gushnasp-feuer allegorisieren." I have seen photographs of the reverse of these coins, but not of the obverse. There is, of course, no evidence that this issue is to be dated after the Arab conquest, but at least we have here another example of the divinity with flaming headdress in south-west Persia.

142. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath(?). Ca. 80-85 H. = ca. 699-704 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., resembling that of Khosrau II. At l., downward, in Kufic: [العزّة لله] At r., downward, in Kufic: منصور. Beaded border, interrupted by headdress.



Beaded border.

I-I-927 Æ 21.

PLATE III

Similar to Allotte de la Fuÿe, p. 75, fig. 5 = Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 294, no. 29 = *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 173. Unvala read "... dāt-pēroč i mansūr (?)," suggesting the name of a governor with that of his father and grandfather. The present specimen adds 3هـ for the first line and the mint name for the last; it confirms Manṣūr for the 4th, and suggests AUMR... for the 2nd. Unvala's "Dāt-pērōč, son of Manṣūr," certainly does not seem very likely.

It would appear to me that there is little doubt that this interesting coin is related to dirhems of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.

Muḥammad struck at Bishāpūr in 81 H.,<sup>35</sup> where the word *manṣūr* occurs both in Pahlevi and Kufic as it does here. I have therefore tentatively assigned the coin to this famous revolutionary. For other issues of his, see *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 117, nos. I.50 and Mar. 3.

**143.** ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath(?). Ca. 80–85 H. = ca. 699–704 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., resembling that of Khosrau II. Legends at l. largely obliterated, probably 𐭪𐭣𐭥 (GDH). At r., downward, in Pahlevi: . . . 𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭥 Margin: effaced except 𐭮𐭲 at l. Dotted border, interrupted by winged head-dress.

Standing figure of Caliph, hands upraised in prayer. Sword in sheath diagonally across body, with handle at the figure's right. Hair arranged in curled locks at either side of head. At l., downward, in Pahlevi: 𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭥. At r., downward, in Pahlevi: 𐭮𐭲. Wide margin, blank. Figure and legends enclosed by dotted circle.

I-I-143 Æ 23, 3.58.

PLATE III

Unfortunately the name on the obverse of this unpublished coin is incompletely preserved, but I propose to read it as MNSU[R]; therefore relating it to no. 142 and again suggesting Ibn al-Ash‘ath as the issuer. The reverse is extraordinary but not without parallel: the standing figure of the Caliph “orans,” in inspiration a Byzantine type, occurs on several Arab-Sasanian coins. In bronze we have a specimen struck at Susa (Shūsh), with a Pahlevi inscription on the obverse and a purely Arabic epigraphical reverse, which Unvala read, probably correctly, as بسم الله | سنة اربع | وثمانين (i.e.,

<sup>35</sup> Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, nos. 44–45.

84 H.).<sup>36</sup> In silver there are several specimens of Bishr b. Marwān with three standing figures on the reverse, the central one facing and with hands upraised.<sup>37</sup> It is remarkable, however, that on neither of these types is the Caliph sword-girt as he is here: in the present specimen there is a closer affinity with the common standing Caliph Arab-Byzantine type and with the rare Arab-Sasanian imitations of the year 75 H.<sup>38</sup> The headdress, however, is quite distinctive: the top of the head appears to be covered with a cap, while the side hair (or is it a part of the covering?) is arranged in large volutes or buns.

As for the reverse Pahlevi legends, the second letter of the mint signature is unfortunately largely missing where the surface of the coin has flaked off, but enough of it is preserved to indicate that probably without any doubt the letter is a T, and therefore the mint is Iṣṭakhr. The word at the left is identical with the word at the left of the "Pegasus" on a *ḡals* of Shūsh,<sup>39</sup> which Unvala read *ḡarrox'ih*, "bonheur, auspiciousness,"<sup>40</sup> and is perhaps related to a word which occurs in the margin of several dirhems: 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād at Kirmān,<sup>41</sup> and with a different ending, al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah at Ardashīr-Khurrah,<sup>42</sup> and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf at Bishāpūr.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Cabinet des Médailles; see Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 288, no. 10 = *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 83, fig. 17. Another specimen is in the Teheran Museum (Walker, *Coins from Susa*, p. 240, no. 7 = *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 83, no. Teh. 4).

<sup>37</sup> Walker, *NC* 1952, pp. 106-107, nos. 1 and 2; Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, pp. 201-202, no. 40.

<sup>38</sup> *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 25, and Walker, *NC* 1952, p. 110, no. 4; cf. Miles, *Mihṛāb and 'Anazah*, p. 171, pl. XXVIII, no. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Unvala, *NC* 1937, p. 292, no. 21.





<sup>40</sup> Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (Uppsala, 1928-1931), I, p. 58, line 5, II, p. 71, *frāx'ih*, "Gedeihen, Wohlstand, Glück, Segen."




<sup>41</sup> *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 66, no. 97.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113, no. ANS. 15, and p. 116, no. ANS. 16.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119, no. Th. 16.

**144.** Unidentified governor. Ca. 60–90 H. = ca. 679–709 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, r., type of Khosrau II. At l.: ? At r.: . Beaded border. In margin  preserved at r. In 2nd quarter: .


Crude fire-altar and attendants. At l.:  ... At r.:  ... Beaded border. In margin  preserved at bottom.






I-2-1579 Æ 15.

PLATE III

The only known governor whose name begins with “T” who struck dirhems of Arab-Sasanian type was Ṭalḥah b. ‘Abdullāh; but I cannot recognize this name here.


**145.** Unidentified governor or anonymous. Ca. 60–90 H. = 679–709 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.




Crude bust, r., type of Khosrau II. No legends visible. Border of dots. In margin  preserved at r. and below.

Fire-altar with very crudely executed attendants at each side. At l.: . At r.: . Border of dots. In margin:  four times. In 1st quarter:  possibly for .

I-2-1596 Æ 19.

**146-147.** Unidentified governor or anonymous. Ca. 60–90 H. = ca. 679–709 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Traces of bust, r. (?). At l.: ? At r.: traces of Pahlavi legend. Single beaded border.

Possible fire-altar and attendants, obliterated by fragmentary state of coin and adhering bit of oxide. Above altar (?): . At l., downward, ... . At r.:  STKHR. Single beaded border.



I-1-63a Æ 17.  
166 Æ 17.

PLATE III

This issue is assigned to the Arab period for two reasons. The cross on the reverse doubtless came into the repertory of Arab-Sasanian coinage through the influence of the Arab-Byzantine. For parallels see Walker, *Coins from Susa*, and a specimen from Naqsh-i Rostam, no. 54, p. 101, below. The latter coin, as well as the present issue, exhibits another characteristic that indicates a post-conquest dating: the remarkable fact that the mint name is written out in full.

**148-149.** Anonymous. Ca. 80-100 H. = ca. 699-719 A.D.  
Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Bust, l., resembling that of Khosrau II; crown extends into margin and interrupts border. At l., downward and retrograde, in Pahlevi: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 (for 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 RVBAK = *ravāk*, "current"). No legend at r.? Linear border.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
عظم

Beaded border.

I-2-1578 Æ 21.  
1991 Æ 18.

PLATE III  
PLATE III

No. 149 shows traces only of the obverse legend, and the mint signature on the reverse is effaced. It will be noted that the entire obverse is retrograde (not only the Pahlevi legend), for the bust faces left, the opposite of the universal Sasanian numismatic custom. For the word *ravāk*, see *NHR*, p. 11, and for other occurrences cf. Unvala, *NC* 1937, *passim*, and Walker, *Coins from Susa*, pp. 236, 240 and 241. I have extended the probable terminal date of these issues to 100 H. because of the developed reverse post-reform legends.

**150.** Anonymous. Ca. 80-110 H. = ca. 699-729 A.D.  
Iṣṭakhr? Bronze.

Obscure bust? No legend  
preserved.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده لا  
شريك .....  
.....

I-1-938a Æ 20.

This very badly preserved and obscure coin is attributed to Iṣṭakhr by analogy with no. 148.

## 2. Uncertain Mints

**151-152.** Uncertain governor. Ca. 60-80 H. = 679-699 A.D.  
Mint effaced. Bronze.

Similar to the usual Arab-Sasanian dirhems, mint and date effaced. [سم الله] in obverse margin.

I-1-511 Æ (disintegrated).  
909 Æ 27 (fragmentary).

**153.** Anonymous. Ca. 60-80 H. = 679-699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Bust r., resembling that of Khosrau II. At l.: 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥  
At r.: 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥. Double beaded border. In margin: at bottom ⬤⬤⬤⬤. Traces at r.

Traces of fire-altar and attendants? Single beaded border. Possible 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥 in margin, 2nd quarter.


I-2-1919 Æ 21.

PLATE III

**154.** Al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah (?). Ca. 75-78 H. (?) = ca. 694-697 A.D. (?). No mint name? Bronze.

Crude bust, r., of type of Khosrau II, but lacking

Crude, squat fire-altar and attendants. Evidently

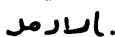
winged crown. At r., down-ward, in Pahlevi: . Beaded border. no legends. Beaded border. In margin: pellet (?) at top and r. preserved.

I-I-193 Æ 16.

PLATE III

The attribution is very uncertain and is suggested only on the basis of a possible reading of the name on the obverse as "Muhallab." Cf. nos. 138-141, above.

**155.** The Caliph al-Walīd I (?). 86-96 H. = 705-715 A.D.  
No mint name. Bronze.

Very crude bust of Sasanian style, r. Type of head-dress (or crown?) indeterminate. At l., downward, in Kufic: الوليد. At r., downward: . Double beaded border.

لا اله

الا اله


وحده

Triple beaded border.

I-I-281 Æ 21.

PLATE III

**156.** The same.

Similar to no. 155, but at l.: .....الو. At r.: .

I-2-1542 Æ 17.

PLATE IV

**157-158.** The same.

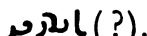
Probably similar to no. 155, but fragmentary and largely obliterated.

I-I-322 Æ 20.

PLATE IV

910 Æ 21.

**159.** The same.

Similar to no. 155, but headdress consists of a simple rounded cap or turban. At l., downward, in Kufic: الوليد. At r., downward:  (?).

I-2-1948 Æ 19.

PLATE IV

I have attributed these remarkable and hitherto unpublished coins (nos. 155–159) to the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd on several grounds. The style, hybrid Sasanian and post-reform Umayyad, would suit al-Walīd's dates.<sup>44</sup> No governor or revolutionary by this name in Persia at this time is known. The headdress of no. 159 suggests the possibility that the die-engraver is attempting to represent the Caliph.<sup>45</sup> The inscription to the right of the bust is very puzzling. Is it in Kufic or in Pahlevi? On no. 155 it might be an attempt at Kufic, but on no. 156, where the end of the legend appears to be different, it looks more like Pahlevi. On no. 159 it again looks more like Kufic. With great reserve I suggest the possibility that the die-engraver was trying to write *amīr al-mu'minīn* in abbreviated form.

**160-161.** Uncertain governor. Ca. 50–80 H. = ca. 670 to 699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Bust, r. Crown consists of 5–7 coils, tapering to a point at top. Small wings at r. and l. of center of crown. Legends effaced. Single beaded border.

Traces of fire-altar and attendants. Single beaded border.

I-1-81 Æ 19.

PLATE IV

I-2-1795b Æ 14 + (fragmentary).

PLATE IV

This type might be pre-Arab, but the curious bust and headdress suggest another Arab experiment of the same general nature as that on the reverse of the coin of Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān from the Shāpūr excavations, discussed under nos. 138–141, above.

<sup>44</sup> To be sure, there are hybrids of this sort at a slightly later date: cf. NR no. 55, p. 102, below.

<sup>45</sup> See my observations in *Mihrāb and 'Anazah*, pp. 169–170, with reference to the headdress of the figure on a remarkable transitional dirhem.

**162.** Anonymous, or uncertain governor. Ca. 50–80 H. = 670–699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Very crude bust, r., with simple rounded headdress, no wings. Three streamers behind neck. At l.: 𐭪𐭣 ? At r.: 𐭪𐭣𐭥 ? Single beaded border.

Traces of facing bust with simple headdress. Lower part of bust obliterated by a lump of oxidation. Traces of legends in Pahlevi, r. and l.? Single beaded border.

I-2-1793a Æ 17.

PLATE IV

Here again the unusual busts indicate an Arab-Sasanian dating.

**163.** Yazīd b. ....? Ca. 60–80 H. = ca. 679–699 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Very crude facing bust(?), bearded. At l., downward, in Kufic: يزيد... (?). At r., downward, in Pahlevi (?): 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥. Beaded border.

3-line inscription in Pahlevi: 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥  
𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥  
𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥  
Beaded border.

I-2-1535a Æ 25 (roughly rectangular).

PLATE IV

The figure on the obverse when inverted appears to present a fern-like plant in a pot; but the direction of the apparently Kufic legend at the left and the apparently Pahlevi legend at the right suggests that the figure is rather a crude bearded bust, as described.

**164.** Uncertain governor. Ca. 60–85 H. = ca. 679–704 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The existence of this specimen was mentioned by Unvala, *NC* 1937, pp. 281, 283.

Winged horse, walking to r. Above: 𐭪𐭣 ? Beneath: 𐭪𐭣𐭪. Beaded border.	Largely obliterated, prob- ably fire-altar and atten- dants, with legends r. and l. Beaded border.
--	---

I-I-321 Æ 25.

PLATE IV

It is just possible that the inscription on the obverse is to be read MNSUR, in which case the coin may be related to those which I have tentatively assigned to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath (cf. nos. 142–143, above). On the other hand, if this hesitantly proposed reading is incorrect the coin may well not be Arab-Sasanian at all, as there is nothing else in the preserved epigraphy to distinguish it from a straight Sasanian issue; in which case the specimen should be dated considerably earlier. But a comparable type, in all probability of Arab date, supports the post-conquest attribution. Among the coins found by the French Mission at Susa was one with a similar “Pegasus” on the obverse, accompanied by Pahlevi legends which Mr. Unvala read *farroxīh* (cf. no. 143, above) and *pēročīh*, “victoire.”<sup>47</sup> The reverse, however, bears a four-line Pahlevi legend giving the name of the governor (?), the word *framūt* (the equivalent of the Arabic ‘*amara*) and *šūš rowāk*, i.e., “current in Susa.” The latter phrase definitely indicates a date within the Arab period.<sup>48</sup> A similar specimen found at Persepolis is in the Cabinet des Médailles.<sup>49</sup> Two other “Pegasus” specimens, one of them bearing the mint signature BİŠ (Bishāpūr), from the excavations at Bishāpūr, have been described but not illustrated.<sup>50</sup> As Unvala remarks, “Le Pégase est sans doute emprunté aux cachets sassanides, sur lesquels il figure très souvent. Pourtant il est très probable

<sup>47</sup> Unvala, NC 1937, p. 292, no. 21.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. nos. 148–149, above, and the comment there.

<sup>49</sup> Unvala, NC 1937, p. 281 and p. 292, no. 22.

<sup>50</sup> Walker, *Bishāpūr*, p. 188, nos. XII–XIII.

qu'il représente sur ces monnaies musulmanes le Boraq du Prophète."<sup>51</sup>

**165-166.** Uncertain governor. Ca. 60-85 H. = ca. 679 to 704 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Bust, r., with winged  
headdress of type of Khos-  
rau II. Traces of legend at  
r. Double beaded border  
interrupted by headdress.

Traces of 3-line Arabic (?)  
legend. Triple beaded bor-  
der.

I-2-1526a Æ 15.

PLATE IV

1835 Æ 16.

**167-171.** Uncertain governors. Ca. 60-85 H. = ca. 679 to 704 A.D. Mints effaced. Bronze.

Five specimens with obverses bearing bust with Khos-  
rau II type headdress and reverse of fire-altar and atten-  
dants type. Legends effaced. Fabric suggests Arab-  
Sasanian attributions.

I-2-1755, 1772e, 1785a (PLATE IV), 1786 (PLATE IV), 1793b  
(PLATE IV) Æ 14-20 mm.

**172.** Anonymous? Ca. 80-100 H. = ca. 699-719 A.D. Un-  
certain mint. Bronze.

Traces of a fern or tree (?)  
in a square.

Very crude characters:

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: traces of large  
lettering, between inner  
dotted and outer linear  
border.

I-2-1520/56 Æ 20.

PLATE IV

<sup>51</sup> Unvala, NC 1937, p. 283.

## 3. No Mint Name

**173-175.** Anonymous. Ca. 90-120 H. = ca. 708-738 A.D.  
No mint name. Bronze.

لا اله

الا اله

وحدله

Double linear border.

بسم الله

محمد

رسول

الله

Double linear border.

I-1-150 Æ 18.

626 Æ 19.

I-2-1940 Æ 16.

PLATE IV

PLATE IV

PLATE IV

This type bears conventional post-reform Arabic legends with the addition of the Pahlevi word *AFD*, "excellent," above the reverse area. The occurrence of isolated Pahlevi words on late Umayyad coins from Persian mints is not uncommon.<sup>52</sup>

## VII. BYZANTINE

**176.** Tiberius II. Year 7 = 581 A.D. Antioch. Follis.

Similar to *B. M. Cat. Imp. Byz. Coins*, I, p. 117, no. 98; obverse effaced.

I-1-245 Æ 29, 8.80.

PLATE V

**177.** Heraclius. Ca. 610-613 A.D. Constantinople. Solidus.

Similar to *B. M. Cat. Imp. Byz. Coins*, I, p. 185, nos. 3-7.

I-2-249 *N* 21, 4.38 (suspension ring).

PLATE V

The fact that the coin is ringed for suspension as jewelry suggests that it is an intrusion from a considerably later date. The excavation plot record, incidentally, notes that the coin came from refuse in HE 02, and described the find-spot as a "mouse hole."

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *NHR*, pp. 11-12; Unvala, *NC* 1937, pp. 293-296.



## VIII. POST-REFORM Umayyad

## A. Iṣṭakhr

178. Anonymous. 104 H. = 722/3 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

امر الله  
بالوفا  
والعدل

بسم الله  
ضرب هذا  
الفلس .. صطخر

Double beaded border  
with annulets between.

سنة اربع وم ...  
Linear border.

I-I-252a Æ 20.

PLATE V

179. Similar to no. 178, but •• beneath obverse area.

I-2-1520/62 Æ 20.

PLATE V

180-184. Salm b. al-Musayyib. Ca. 129 H. = 746/7 A.D.  
Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله  
الا الله  
وحده

○  
محمد  
رسل  
الله

بسم الله مما امر به الامير سلم بن  
السيب باصطخر

Triple linear border.

Margin enclosed by linear  
borders.

I-I-100 Æ 19.

114 Æ 19.

170 Æ 20.

242 Æ 19.

242a Æ 19.

PLATE V

PLATE V

These unpublished coins are interesting in that they fix the correct name of Salm b. al-Musayyib, *‘āmil* or prefect of Shīrāz on behalf of ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (governor of Baṣrah and Kūfah) in 129 H. Ṭabari refers to

him as Muslim b. al-Musayyib,<sup>53</sup> and again in another connection he calls him Muslim when speaking of his house in Kūfah;<sup>54</sup> but in two other passages he refers to the same house (dār al-mukhtār) as being the one “now known” (at the time of his primary witness) as that of Salm b. al-Musayyib.<sup>55</sup> It is therefore clear that Salm and Muslim are the same person, and our coins establish the fact that Salm is the correct name. Also of interest is the small detail that the ‘āmil in Shīrāz was at this time the administrative official of Iṣṭakhr.

**185-189.** Anonymous. 130 H. = 747/8 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده لا

شريك له

ح

Triple linear border; four pairs of annulets; outer thick linear border.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس

باصطخر سنة ثنتين ومئة

Margin between linear or beaded borders, broken by four pairs of annulets.

I-I-407 Æ 22, 1.90 +.

654 Æ 20, 1.86 +.

I-2-1527 Æ 20.

1804 Æ 20.

1838b Æ 21.

PLATE V

PLATE V

PLATE V

## B. Sābūr

**190.** Anonymous. 81 H. (?) = 700/01 A.D. (?). Sābūr (?). Dirhem.

<sup>53</sup> Ṭabari II, p. 1977: مسلم بن السّيب وهو بشيراز عامل لابن عمر Cf. Zambaur, p. 46.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* II, p. 237.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* II, pp. 520, 533.

(sic) لا اله لا

Conventional legends.

(sic) الله وحد

لا شريك له

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم

سابور (؟) سنة احدى (؟) وثمانين (؟)

I-1-903 R 26, 1.90.

PLATE V

The obverse is very crude and almost illegible; the attribution is therefore doubtful. The coin appears to be the product of a provincial and inexperienced die-cutter. Dirhems of Sābūr of the same date with the digit spelled وحد are known.<sup>56</sup>

**191-192.** Anonymous. Date if any effaced, ca. 100-132 H. = ca. 718-750 A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

امر الله با

محمد ر

لوف والعدل

سول الله

بركة ••

سابور ••

Margin: traces of legend.

Double or triple linear

Margin enclosed by linear borders.

border.

I-2-1739 Æ 19.

PLATE V

1803 Æ 20.

PLATE V

Cf. Walker, *Bishāpūr*, p. 189, no. XIV, which is probably the same as these, although both the drawing and the description of the specimen from Bishāpūr indicate that the obverse has no marginal legend, while here it is clear that one was present. Also Walker reads الوفا instead of the usual بالوفا, but I would not say that on the present specimen this is the case. Walker's drawing shows the pyramids of pellets inverted and also a pyramid of pellets above the reverse; on the present specimen this part of the coin is damaged.

<sup>56</sup> B. M. *Arab-Byzantine*, p. 156, no. P.83.

## C. Shīrāz

193. Anonymous. 130 H. = 747/8 A.D. Shīrāz. Fals.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Triple beaded border, un-  
certain number of annulets.

••  
محمد  
رسول  
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب بشيراز سنة  
تلتين ومئة

Linear border between  
area and margin; outer  
double beaded border. Un-  
certain number of annulets.

I-2-1954 Æ 22.

PLATE V

This unique coin is of uncommon interest. Not only is it the first known Umayyad issue bearing the mint name Shīrāz, but, so far as I know, it antedates by 140 years the earliest hitherto recorded coin of this mint (designated by this name), a dirhem of the Abu-Dulafid Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.<sup>57</sup> Another unpublished issue of Shīrāz from the excavations is dated 192 (see nos. 522–552, below); and a few years after this latter date the mint becomes active under the name of Fārs (or Fāris), the name of the province of which Shīrāz was the capital.<sup>58</sup> Theoretically Shīrāz was founded by the Arabs on the site of their encampment at the time of the investment of Iṣṭakhr,<sup>59</sup> but in all probability the locality had been occupied by the Sasanians before the conquest.<sup>60</sup> However, the relatively late date of the commencement of the mint’s activity would suggest that the town, if it existed, was not of administrative importance in the early 7th century.

<sup>57</sup> C. J. Tornberg, *Numi Cufici* (Uppsala, 1848), p. 98, no. 416.

<sup>58</sup> In 203 H.; see the summary of the activities of the Fārs mint in G. C. Miles, “A Ninth Century Hoard of Dirhems found at Susa,” in a volume of the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, now in press.

<sup>59</sup> Le Strange, p. 249.

<sup>60</sup> Cl. Huart, s.v. Shīrāz in *EI*.

## D. Wāsiṭ

- 194.** Anonymous. 93 H. = 711/12 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Dirhem.  
Similar to *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 193, no. 536.

I-2-1742b Æ 26.

PLATE V

- 195.** Anonymous. 114 H. = 732/3 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Dirhem.  
Similar to *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 196, no. 562.

I-2-1751 Æ 27 (fragmentary).

PLATE V

- 196-197.** Anonymous. 116 H. = 734/5 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Fals.

لا اله الا

محمد

الله وحده لا

رسول

شريك له

الله

Five annulets ⊙ between  
inner double beaded and  
outer linear borders.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس  
بواسط سنة ست عشرة ومئة

Margin between linear  
borders.

I-2-1518 Æ 21.

PLATE VI

1619 Æ 21.

Cf. *Berlin*, no. 2047, and *Paris*, no. 1520, with 3 annulets  
(Welin, *Wāsiṭ*, p. 154).

- 198.** Anonymous. 121 H. = 738/9 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Dirhem.  
Similar to *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 198, no. 571.

I-2-1725 Æ 26.

PLATE VI

- 199-200.** Anonymous? 124 H. = 741/2 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Fals.

Effaced.

محمد

Double linear border,

رسول

2 annulets.

الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب ... الفلّس  
بواسط سنة اربع وعشرين ومئة

Margin between inner linear border and outer border consisting of inner thin and outer thick circles, with 5 (?) annulets.

I-1-117 Æ 21, 270+.

PLATE VI

I-2-1968 Æ 20.

PLATE VI

This appears to be unpublished; at least there is no specimen in the principal catalogues, nor in Welin, *Wāsiṭ*. Cf. NR no. 58, p. 103, below, with obverse preserved.

**201.** Anonymous? 126 H. = 743/4 A.D. Wāsiṭ (?). Fals.

Effaced.

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Margin: ... بسم الله ضرب هذا  
بواسطة (?) ست وعشرين ومئة

I-2-1651a Æ 20.

If the mint name is correctly read this issue also appears to be unpublished.

### E. No Mint Name

**202-229.** Anonymous. No date. Ca. 90-120 H. = ca. 708-738 A.D. No mint name. Fals.

لا اله  
الا الله  
وحده

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Single linear, single beaded or double beaded borders.

Borders as obverse.

Diameters range between 19 and 21 mm.

I-1-168 (PLATE VI), 230, 295, 319, 394, 575, 660, 886 (PLATE VI), 890, 916.

I-2-1575 (PLATE VI), 1594 (PLATE VI), 1736b, 1738b, 1753, 1765 (PLATE VI), 1769c, 1777, 1782 (PLATE VI), 1805a, 1810 (PLATE VI), 1812, 1854, 1859a, 1876c, 1906, 1965a, 1980b.

Most of these are doubtless from Iṣṭakhr and nearby mints in Fārs.

**230.** Anonymous. No date. Ca. 90-120 H. = ca. 708-738 A.D.  
No mint name. Fals.

Similar to nos. 202-229, but obverse:

لا اله الا

الله

وحده

I-2-1547a Æ 20.

PLATE VI

**231-235.** Anonymous. No date. Ca. 90-120 H. = ca. 708-738 A.D. No mint name. Fals.

Obverse as nos. 202-229.

Beaded border.

جائز

محمد

رسول

الله

Beaded border.

I-2-1536b Æ 18.

1808b Æ 19.

1841 Æ 18.

1970 Æ 17.

1973b Æ 18.

PLATE VI

PLATE VI

PLATE VI

The word جائز, "current," occurs on many Umayyad and 'Abbāsid *fulūs*, beginning with the earliest Arab-Byzantine bronze;<sup>61</sup> and also as a countermark on at least one Arab-Sasanian dirhem.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> See *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, index.

<sup>62</sup> *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 96, no. 192.

## F. Mint Effaced

**236.** Mint and date, if any, effaced. Ca. 90–132 H. = ca. 708–750 A.D. Fals.

.....  
 لوفاء [الم] دل  
 بركة [ة]

Effaced.  
 Triple beaded border.

Traces of marginal legend  
 between beaded borders.

I-2-1934 Æ 21.

**237-255.** Unidentifiable post-reform Umayyad bronze coins.  
 Ca. 80–132 H. = ca. 699–750 A.D. *Fulūs*.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

## IX. ‘ABBĀSID PARTISANS

**256-257.** Abu-Muslim. Date effaced. Ca. 127–132 H. = ca. 744–750 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

لا اله  
 الا الله  
 وحده

محمد  
 رسول  
 الله

Margin: ...كم عليه اجرا الا  
 المودة القر.....

(Qur’ān XLII, 22)

Margin between linear bor-  
 ders.

I-2-1935 Æ 22.

1938 Æ 20, 1.93.

Margin: .... ابو مس.....

Margin between linear  
 borders.

PLATE VII

PLATE VII

For a discussion of these and related revolutionary coins struck at various mints in both western Persia and Khurāsān, see *NHR*, pp. 15–17, and the literature cited there; and Dominique Sourdel, *Inventaire des monnaies musulmanes anciennes du Musée de Caboul* (Damascus, 1953), pp. 5–9,



publishing a Khārijite issue of Tanbūk (?), 133 H. Among other things Sourdel makes a proper distinction between Khārijite and 'Abbāsīd partisan issues, which I had confused in *NHR*.

Cf. also no. 504, below.

## X. Umayyad or 'Abbāsīd

**258-315.** Unidentifiable post-reform Umayyad or early 'Abbāsīd bronze coins. Ca. 80-140 H. = ca. 699-758 A.D. *Fulūs*.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

## XI. 'Abbāsīd

### A. Arrajān

**316.** Uncertain governor. 180 or 18x H. = 796/7 or 797-805 A.D. Arrajān. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس  
بارجان [سنة] ... (٢) مئتين ومئة

Outer linear border.

Margin: مامربه الامير محمد و... على  
يدي.....

Margin between beaded borders.

I-2-1780d Æ 22, 4.05.

PLATE VII

It is just possible that the letter و precedes the decade of the date, in which case there is also a digit, but there is very little space for it.

The earliest recorded coin of Arrajān, so far as I know, is a dirhem of the year 187 H.<sup>63</sup> The town was the capital of the district of the same name, the westernmost of the five *kūrahs* of Fārs.

<sup>63</sup> P. Casanova, *Inventaire sommaire de la collection des monnaies musulmanes de S. A. la Princesse Ismaïl* (Paris, 1896), no. 437.

## B. Ardashīr-Khurrah

**317-318.** Ismā'il b. 'Ali. 145 H. = 762/3 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس  
باردشیر خرة سنة خمس واربعين ومئة

Outer linear border.

Margin: مما امر به الامير اسمعيل بن علي  
اكرمه الله

Outer linear border.

I-2-1693f Æ 21, 2.61 +.

1731f Æ 22, 2.84 +.

PLATE VII

PLATE VII

The style of lettering resembles that of contemporary dinars.

Ismā'il b. 'Ali served in various capacities in Persia and 'Irāq: governor of Fārs in 132, prefect of al-Ahwāz in 133, of Mosul in the same year and in 134, 135 and 138, of al-Baṣrah in 143, and again governor of Fārs in 145, the year in which these coins were struck.<sup>64</sup> Other coins of his were issued in the latter year at Iṣṭakhr (see nos. 364-369, below); and we know of still other *fulūs* of his struck at al-Baṣrah in 143,<sup>65</sup> and without mint name or date.<sup>66</sup>

Ardashīr-Khurrah was both the name of one of the five *kūrahs* of Fārs and of the chief town of the district (before Shīrāz became the capital), originally known as Fīrūzābād, then as Jūr (Persian Gōr) and again, from Būyid times onward, as Fīrūzābād.<sup>67</sup> Designated by the Pahlevi mint signature ART it was an active mint in Arab-Sasanian times,<sup>68</sup> and post-reform dirhems were struck here from 80 until

<sup>64</sup> Ṭabari III, pp. 72-75, 81, 84, 123, 142, 301.

<sup>65</sup> *Paris*, no. 1560.

<sup>66</sup> *Paris*, nos. 1648-9; *Berlin*, nos. 2243-6.

<sup>67</sup> Le Strange, pp. 255-256; Cl. Huart, s.v. Fīrūz-Ābād in *EI*.

<sup>68</sup> *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. cviii-cix, etc.

99 H.<sup>69</sup> The present coins appear to be the first published bronze issue of the mint. There is, however, an unpublished fals of the year 134 in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. For other issues of Ardashīr-Khurrah, in some instances specifically named Jūr, see nos. 319-336, below; and re-named Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs, no. 581-609.

**319-322.** The Caliph al-Mahdi and Rabī'. 167 H. = 783/4 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده لا  
شريك له  
✱

○○○  
الخليفة  
المهدي محمد  
امير المؤمنين  
ربيع

Margin : ضرب هذا الفلّس بآردشير خرة  
سنة سبع وستين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

Beaded border. The three annulets at the top of the area may actually belong to the marginal border.

I-1-364 Æ 17, 1.73+.

I-2-1543 Æ 17.

1783 Æ 17.

1799 Æ 17, 1.71+.

PLATE VII

PLATE VII

PLATE VII

**323.** Similar to nos. 319-322, but obverse:

لا اله الا  
الله وحده لا  
etc.

I-2-1561 Æ 17.

PLATE VII

Rabī' (beneath the reverse area) is doubtless abu'-Faḍl al-Rabī' b. Yūnus b. 'Abdullāh, a public servant who filled various offices under four Caliphs. He was appointed *hājib* and later vizier by al-Manṣūr; and during al-Mahdi's reign

<sup>69</sup> *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, pp. 107-109.

he again performed both these functions.<sup>70</sup> Our coins would establish the fact that he was vizier in 167 H. Cf. also nos. 391-477, below, where al-Rabī's name occurs on coins of Iṣṭakhr of the same date.

**324-325.** Similar to nos. 319-322, but:

لا اله الا  
الله وحده لا  
شريك له  
جور

Reverse has chain border.

I-2-1589 Æ 18, 1.69.

PLATE VII

1729b Æ 16.

PLATE VII

**326.** Similar to nos. 324-325, but the reverse retrograde.

I-2-1975 Æ 17.

PLATE VII

Of particular interest is the occurrence of the name Jūr (see above, p. 53) beneath the obverse. The implication would be that the name Ardashīr-Khurrah in the margin was taken to mean the district,<sup>71</sup> and that on these coins the specific mint is named. Six years earlier the name Jūr occurs on some coins bearing the district name Kūrat al-Mahdiyyah min Fārs (nos. 581-609, below), but otherwise the mint name is unknown to Islamic numismatics.

**327-336.** Muḥammad [b. Yaḥyâ] Barmaki. 182 H. = 798/9 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده لا	رسول
شريك له	الله
محمد	برمكي

<sup>70</sup> References to all the pertinent literature are given by A. S. Atiya in *EI*, s.v. al-Rabī'. Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 6) gives the date of his second vizirate as ca. 166, although Atiya says he never was vizier under al-Mahdi.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. other names of provinces or districts on Umayyad and early 'Abbasid coins, such as Adharbayjān, Arrān, Irmīniyah (Armenia), Sijistān, Ṭabaristān, Filāstīn, etc.

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلّس باردشير خرة  
سنة اثنين وثمانين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I-1-895 Æ 19, 2.38.

I-2-1520/35 Æ 19, 2.20.

1520/50 Æ 20, 2.24.

PLATE VII

1639 Æ 19, 2.39.

1641c Æ 18.

1661 Æ 17. PLATE VII

Margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Margin between linear borders.

I-2-1673b Æ 19. PLATE VII

1762b Æ 19. PLATE VII

1864c Æ 19, 1.94 +.

PLATE VII

1989a Æ 19. PLATE VII

It is evident that the words beneath the obverse and reverse areas are to be read together, because on coins of Iṣṭakhr and Fasā struck in the same year (nos. 478–489 and 562–580, below), the name Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā is written out in full in the margin together with “Barmaki” beneath the reverse. The governor therefore must be Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid the Barmacide, who was *ḥājib* at the court until 179 H.<sup>72</sup> Other coins of his were struck in 183 H. at Sābūr (see nos. 510–519, below). This Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā was of course a different individual from the man by the same name (but whose ancestor was al-Ḥārith b. Shakhīr) who governed al-Rayy in 179 and 180.<sup>73</sup>

This is the only bronze issue of Ardashīr-Khurrah of which there has been a previous publication.<sup>74</sup>

**337-338.** Anonymous. 1x5 H. = ca. 775–800 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

محمد رسول

الله صلى الله

عليه وسلم

<sup>72</sup> W. Barthold, s.v. Barmakides, *EI*; cf. Zambaur, p. 10.

<sup>73</sup> Ṭabari III, p. 645; cf. *NHR*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>74</sup> Tiesenhhausen, no. 1336. The word beneath the reverse was not legible on this specimen, but doubtless the issue is the same.

Margin: هذا لفس باردير . . . .

خرة سنة خمس و . . . . .

Outer border consisting  
of 5 (?) annulets between  
linear circles.

I-2-1678 Æ 17.

1955 Æ 16.

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Margin between linear  
borders.

PLATE VII

**339.** Uncertain governor. Date effaced. Ca. 132-160 H. =  
ca. 750-777 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah. Fals.

Effaced.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفس

باردير خرة . . . . .

I-2-1590 Æ 20.

### C. Iṣṭakhr

**340-343.** The Caliph [abu'l-'Abbās] 'Abdullāh [al-Ṣaffāh].  
133 H. = 750/1 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: مما امر به عبد الله عبد الله  
امير المؤمنين اكرمه الله

Margin between linear  
borders.

I-2-1544a Æ 21.

1652 Æ 20.

1897 Æ 19.

1998 Æ 20, 1.75+.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: ضرب هذا الفس باصطخر  
سنة ثلث وثلثين ومئة

Margin between linear  
borders.

PLATE VIII

PLATE VIII

**344-363.** The Caliph ‘Abdullāh [al-Manṣūr]. 140 H. = 757/8 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

بما امر به  
عبد الله عبد  
الله امير المؤمنين  
الوفا  
••

Border consists of 3 annulets ⊙ alternating with ••, between linear circles.

I-1-63 Æ 18.

276 Æ 20, 2.28+.

312a Æ 18, 1.40+.

893 Æ 19, 1.83+.

906 Æ 20, 1.57+.

I-2-1558 Æ 17.

1591 Æ 17.

1593 Æ 16.

1598 Æ 20.

1603a Æ 21.

PLATE VIII

PLATE VIII

محمد  
رسول  
الله

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس  
باصطخر سنة اربعين ومئة جائز

Margin between linear or beaded circles, the outer of which interrupted by 5 annulets ○.

I-2-1627a Æ 18.

1706 Æ 18.

1836b Æ 18.

1843 Æ 20. PLATE VIII

1870 Æ 19. PLATE VIII

1879d Æ 19.

1881c Æ 17.

1941 Æ 18.

1959 Æ 19.

1962a Æ 18.

A specimen of this issue was published by Soret in 1854.<sup>75</sup>  
Note جائز at the end of the marginal legend.<sup>76</sup>

**364-368.** Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī. 145 H. = 762/3 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده لا  
شريك له

بما امر به الامير اسمعيل  
بن علي اصلحه الله

Margin between linear borders, the outer one in-

محمد  
رسول  
الله

ضرب هذا الفلاس باصطخر  
سنة خمس واربعين ومئة

Margin between linear borders, the outer one in-

<sup>75</sup> Tiesenhausen, no. 710.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. no. 231, above.

errupted by alternating annulets ○ and ○ ○. Outer thick beaded border.

I-1-257 Æ 22, 2.52+.

PLATE VIII

936 Æ 19, 1.90+.

errupted by 5 annulets ○. Outer thick linear border.

I-2-1569 Æ 21.

1743a Æ 21, 2.58+.

1846a Æ 22. PLATE VIII

**369.** Similar to nos. 364-368 (mint and date effaced), but margin has: الله ○ اصلحه ○ ... اسمعيل بن ...

I-2-1570 Æ 20.

PLATE VIII

For Ismā'īl b. 'Alī see nos. 317-318, above, struck at Ardashīr-Khurrah.

**370-382.** Hārūn b. Muḥammad (?). 149 H. = 766/7 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Margin: بما امر به الامير هرون بن. [محمد؟]

Outer border consists of 2 linear circles interrupted by 5 (?) annulets ○.

I-1-131 Æ 21.

301 Æ 21, 3.30.

307 Æ 22, 3.23.

335 Æ 21.

382 Æ 21.

937 Æ 21.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب باصطخر سنة تسع واربعين ومئة

Area enclosed by double linear circle. Margin enclosed by inner linear and outer beaded circles interrupted by 5 (?) annulets ○.

I-2-1614 Æ 21.

1704 Æ 20. PLATE VIII

1752 Æ 22. PLATE VIII

1767 Æ 20. PLATE VIII

1800 Æ 20.

1864b Æ 20, 2.12+.

PLATE VIII

1933b Æ 20. PLATE VIII

I have not been able to identify Hārūn b. Muḥammad (?).



**383-390.** Al-Rabī' b. al-Khaṭīr (?). 159 H. = 775/6 A.D.  
Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Margin: مما امر به الربيع بن الخطير (؟)  
اصلحه الله

Margin between linear  
borders with 4 annulets ○.

محمد

رسول

الله

يخ (؟)

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس

باصطخر سنة تسع وخمسين ومئة

Margin between linear  
borders, with 5 (?) annulets  
○ on outer circle.

I-1-657 Æ 22, 2.16+.

PLATE VIII

657a Æ 23, 1.84+.

PLATE VIII

934 Æ 20.

I-2-1520/70 Æ 23.

1587 Æ 23. PLATE VIII

1949 Æ 19.

1963 Æ 20.

2001 Æ 21, 2.48.

The name al-Rabī' is certain, and al-Khaṭīr is probably correct, but I have been unable to find anyone by this name in the chronicles. Both the father's name and the position of the name in the marginal formula eliminate the possibility that the person is al-Rabī' b. Yūnus (cf. nos. 319-323, above, and nos. 391 ff., below).

**391-470.** The Caliph al-Mahdi and Rabī'. 167 H. = 783/4 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده لا

شريك له

Border consisting of inner  
linear circle, circle of dots  
and outer linear circle; be-  
tween the latter two, 5 an-  
nulets ○.

الخليفة

المهدي

محمد امير

المؤمنين

ربيع

Margin: ضرب باصطخر سنة سبع  
وستين ومئة

Margin between linear  
circles.

Diameter usually about 17 mm.; maximum weight, 3.04. Æ.  
 I-1-17, 75, 92, 113 (PLATE IX), 160, 186, 199, 210, 252, 300, 354,  
 366, 425, 516, 521, 561, 604, 645, 655b, 884, 887, 893a, 901,  
 902, 919, 929, 929b, 935a, 948.  
 I-2-1525, 1550, 1611, 1621 (PLATE IX), 1624, 1643, 1647, 1651b,  
 1651c, 1664, 1667a, 1692c, 1692d (PLATE IX), 1696b, 1697,  
 1702, 1703b (PLATE IX), 1711a (PLATE IX), 1712 (PLATE IX),  
 1723a, 1724b, 1731a, 1731b, 1731d (PLATE IX), 1737, 1741  
 (PLATE IX), 1745, 1754a, 1754b, 1771a, 1805b (PLATE IX),  
 1807, 1822a, 1838d, 1853b, 1855, 1861, 1872a, 1874 (PLATE IX),  
 1881a, 1890 (PLATE IX), 1896, 1898b, 1924b, 1937, 1961a,  
 1967a, 1971, 1976, 1984, 1988.

**471.** Similar to nos. 391-470, but the mint-date formula is on the obverse between an inner linear border and a thick outer linear border; reverse, inner linear border, uncertain number of annulets, thick outer linear border.

I-1-386 Æ 19, 2.60+.

**472-473.** Similar to nos. 391-470, but:

لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 شريك له (sic)  
 \*

Mint-date formula between inner linear border and outer thick linear border.

I-1-919a, 17.  
 929a, 17.

الخليفة  
 المهدي محمد  
 امير المؤمنين  
 ربيع

Uncertain number of annulets. Outer linear border.

PLATE IX

**474-476.** Similar to nos. 391-470, but mint-date formula on obverse between inner linear border and outer thick linear border; and reverse:

, \*

○○○

الخليفة

المهدي محمد

امير المؤمنين

ربيع

One specimen has a pair  
of annulets at the left;  
outer linear border.

I-2-1682a Æ 17.

1908a Æ 16.

1916 Æ 16.

PLATE IX

477. Similar to nos. 391-470, but:

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

بخ

Mint-date formula; outer  
beaded border.

•

الخليفة

المهدي محمد

امير المؤمنين

ربيع

✱

Alternating ○ ○ and ○  
between linear borders.

I-2-1582 Æ 16.

PLATE IX

The first to describe a coin in general similar to nos. 391 to 477 was Fraehn;<sup>77</sup> Lane-Poole published two others similar to the first variety, but with an error in the first line of the obverse on one;<sup>78</sup> Nützel described two also similar to the first variety;<sup>79</sup> and there is a similar specimen in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. Rabī' is identified above, p. 54, in connection with coins bearing his name and struck in the same year at Ardashīr-Khurrah (nos. 319-326).

<sup>77</sup> Tiesenhausen, no. 1037.

<sup>78</sup> *B. M.* i, p. 202, nos. 105-106.

<sup>79</sup> *Berlin*, nos. 2131-2132.

**478-488.** Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ Barmaki. 182 H. = 803/4 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

ع

Margin: مما امر به الامير محمد بن يحيى اكرمه الله

Margin between inner beaded and outer linear borders.

محمد

رسول

الله

برمكى

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلص باصطخر سنة اثني وثمانين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I-1-932 Æ 20, 2.32 +.

I-2-1520/7 Æ 19. PLATE IX

1520/63 Æ 19.

1557a Æ 18. PLATE IX

1635b Æ 17.

1641b Æ 18.

I-2-1679 Æ 19, 2.14 +.

PLATE IX

1726b Æ 20. PLATE IX

1811b Æ 19.

1868 Æ 20. PLATE IX

1967b Æ 19.

**489.** Similar to nos. 478-488, but apparently no ع beneath the obverse.

I-2-1857a Æ 20.

The governor named in the obverse marginal legend (with his family name beneath the reverse area) is the Barmacide Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ b. Khālid, who struck *fulūs* at Ardashīr-Khurrah and Fasā in 182 H.<sup>80</sup> and at Sābūr in 183 H.<sup>81</sup>

The following coins of Iṣṭakhr (nos. 490-497) are only partially preserved and cannot be definitely assigned to any of the above issues. In view of their fragmentary state no useful purpose would be served in describing them in full.

<sup>80</sup> Nos. 327-336, above, and nos. 562-580, below.

<sup>81</sup> Nos. 510-519, below.

**490-497.** Uncertain governors. Ca. 132-200 H. = ca. 750 to 816 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. *Fulūs*.

I-1-376 Æ: reverse margin: .... باصط ....

I-2-1520/65 Æ: reverse margin: ضرب هذا الفلّس باصطخر (?)

1556c Æ: reverse margin: ... باصطخر سنة احد و ...

1731e Æ: obverse margin: ... الامير محمد بن ...

reverse margin: ... هذ الفلّس باصطخر سنة ...

1778 Æ: probably Iṣṭakhr

1818 Æ: probably Iṣṭakhr

1840 Æ: probably Iṣṭakhr

I-2-1853a Æ: obverse margin: ... مما امر به

reverse margin: ضرب هذا الفلّس باصطخر

#### D. Al-Ahwāz

**498.** Anonymous. 140 H. (?) = 757/8 A.D. (?). Al-Ahwāz. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Margin: ... بالاهوز (sic?) سنة

Margin: traces.

اربعين (?) ومئة

Outer linear border.

Margin between linear borders.

I-2-1520/27 Æ 20.

PLATE IX

The attribution is dubious in every respect.

#### E. Birāmqubadh

**499-502.** The Caliph ‘Abdullāh [al-Manṣūr]. 141 H. = 758/9 A.D. Birāmqubadh. Fals.

مما امر به

عبد الله عبد الله

امير المؤمنين

محمد

رسول

الله

بیرمقباد

•

Border consists of double linear circle broken by alternating ○ and ••, four times.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس  
سنة احدى واربعين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I-1-938 Æ 21, 2.10 +.

PLATE IX

I-2-1552b Æ 21, 2.85.

PLATE IX

1744 Æ 21.

PLATE X

1758c Æ 20.

PLATE X

The mint of Birāmqubadh has been identified by John Walker and is equated with Arrajān, both of which names were known to Ṭabari.<sup>82</sup> A mint (using the signature BRM) was located here in Arab-Sasanian times, and we know of issues of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād and al-Ḥakam b. abī'l-‘Āṣ dated 54 and 58 H. respectively.<sup>83</sup> After the coinage reform it continued as a mint, dirhems of the years 79, 80, 90 and 93 being known.<sup>84</sup> But no bronze issue of Birāmqubadh was hitherto known, and it is of great interest to learn that the mint was still active under this name as late as 141 H. We have no recorded issue of Arrajān until about 180 H. (see no. 316, above).

### F. Madīnat Balkh?

**503.** The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn. 182 H. (?) = 798/9 A.D. (?). Madīnat Balkh (?). Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 170?; mint and date obscure.

I-2-1774 Æ 25.

PLATE X

<sup>82</sup> *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. cxiii-cxvi. Cf. G. C. Miles, "Abarqubadh, a new Umayyad Mint," in *ANS Museum Notes* IV, pp. 115-120, for a further discussion of the confusion between Birāmqubadh, Abarqubadh, etc.

<sup>83</sup> *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>84</sup> *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, pp. 124-125.

G. Tawwaj

**504.** The Caliph [abu'l-'Abbās] 'Abdullāh [al-Ṣaffāḥ]. 132 H.  
= 749/50 A.D. Tawwaj. Fals.

محمد  
رسول  
الله

سنة اثنين  
وثلاثين  
ومئة

Margin: قل لا اسلكم (sic) عليه  
اجرا الا المودة القرى

Margin: بسم الله مما امر به عبد[الله]  
مير المؤمنين بتوج

Margin between beaded  
borders.

Margin between beaded  
borders.

Counterstamp, consisting of a single letter or a circle, in upper part of reverse area, causing a convexity in the reverse area.

I-2-1555 Æ 20, 1.34.

PLATE X

A crack, possibly caused by the counter-stamping, is present on the coin at the point where the mint name lies. To judge by the width of the crack there would be a letter between the و and the ج of the name; but on the other side only the letter ا is missing, so it appears that the crack is wider than the flan originally was at this point, and that no letter is missing between و and ج.

This very interesting coin not only is unique but it is the first known example of this mint. Tawwaj was a town on the Ratīn River (now the Rūd-i Ḥilla) in the district of Ardashīr-Khurrah, near Kāzirūn and 32 farsakhs from Shīrāz. It was an ancient town,<sup>85</sup> captured by the Arabs in 18 or 19 H. (639-640 A.D.) and thereafter settled by them and embellished with mosques and a *dār al-muslimīn*.<sup>86</sup> The town's chief claim to fame in later Islamic times was its textile pro-

<sup>85</sup> See Ernst Herzfeld, "Pasargadae," in *Klio*, VIII (1908), p. 18, citing Strabo, Arrian and Ptolemy.

<sup>86</sup> Balādhuri, p. 386; Yāqūt, I, pp. 890-891; *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 74, 127, 212, 377 (spelled Tavaz); *Fārsnāmā*, pp. 114, 135, 163; cf. Le Strange, pp. 259-260.

duction, particularly of a type of linen known as *tawwazi*, produced both in Tawwaj and also in Kāzirūn by artisans from Tawwaj.<sup>87</sup>

Our interest in this coin is not however limited to its topographical aspects. It will be noted that the obverse margin bears the unusual Qur'ānic quotation Sūrah XLII, 22: "Say, for this I ask no wage of you, save love of my kin." This verse occurs on a number of coins, both dirhems and *fulūs*, struck by Abu-Muslim and 'Abdullāh b. Mu'āwiyah during the period of the uprisings by 'Abbāsīd partisans between 127 and 132 H. (744-749 A.D.).<sup>88</sup> On this account one would be inclined at first sight to attribute this coin of Tawwaj also to the 'Abbāsīd partisans, were it not for the fact that the reverse margin bears the name and title, *amīr al-mu'minīn*, of the newly enthroned 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Ṣaffāḥ. The coin therefore is an 'Abbāsīd issue and must have been struck after 13 Rabī' I, 132 (30 October, 749), the date of al-Ṣaffāḥ's proclamation. The retention of the propaganda slogan, Qur'ān XLII, 22, is remarkable, but we know that it still must have been on the lips of all well-informed revolutionaries, for Ṭabari tells us that al-Ṣaffāḥ quoted the verse in his inaugural address.<sup>89</sup> This is, so far as I know, the first recorded example of a purely 'Abbāsīd coin bearing this celebrated passage; the other known issues of the year 132 were struck either before the final success of the revolution, or, at least in the distant mints such as Marv and Balkh, before word was received of al-Ṣaffāḥ's enthronement.

<sup>87</sup> See the numerous references assembled by R. B. Serjeant, "Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest," *Ars Islamica* X (1943), pp. 83-84 (also pp. 81-82), and IX (1942), p. 68, XV-XVI (1951), p. 77.

<sup>88</sup> See nos. 256-257, above, and the literature cited there. To the list in *NHR* should be added another specimen of al-Taymarah, 128 H., another of Jayy, 129 H., which have come to my attention (Cora and E. Zygmant collections), and one of Balkh, 132 H., published by Ibrahim Artuk in *Tarih Dergisi* III (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 135-136.

<sup>89</sup> Ṭabari III, p. 29.



Counterstamps on early 'Abbāsid coins are not at all common, and it is a pity that the present one is illegible. One can only speculate on its significance. Perhaps it validated the coin in Iṣṭakhr; or else it may have legitimized an issue which might have appeared to those who did not examine it carefully to predate the 'Abbāsid rule.

H. Jayy

**505.** [Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Jannāḥ]. 191 H. = 806/7 A.D. Jayy. Fals.

لا اله الا

Effaced.

الله وحده

لا شريك له

بسم الله ضرب ○ هذا

..... مولى امير المؤمنين ..... Margin:

الفلس ○ بجى سنة احدى ○ وتسعين ومئة ○

Margin between beaded borders.

Margin between beaded borders.

I-2-1672 Æ 20.

PLATE X

In the Cabinet des Médailles there is a comparable coin,<sup>90</sup> on which Lavoix read the date 181. Could he have misread it? The date of the present specimen is clearly 191. Beneath the reverse area of the Paris piece is the name محمد, and the reverse margin reads: بما امر به الحسين بن الجناح مولى امير المؤمنين. I have not been able to identify the prefect, a freedman. Jayy was the old name for Iṣfahān.

I. Sābūr

**506-507.** Mūsā [b. al-Mahdi] and Ṣāliḥ b. Dā'ūd. Ca. 164-165 H. = ca. 780-782 A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

الامير موسى بن

في ولانة

امير المؤمنين

الامير صلح

<sup>90</sup> Paris, no. 1572.

حفظه الله

بن داود

Margin: بسم الله ضرب بسابور ولی  
عهد المسلمين

لا اله الا الله وحده لا  
شريك له محمد رسول الله

Margin enclosed by border consisting of inner beaded circle and outer linear circle, with annulets  
○ between.

Margin enclosed by double beaded and outer linear circles.

I-2-1612 Æ 20.  
1930 Æ 18.

PLATE X  
PLATE X

On no. I-2-1930 the words بسم الله appear to be the first line of the area rather than to introduce the marginal legend.

The *amīr* Mūsā is of course the Caliph al-Mahdi's son (al-Hādī), at this time heir to the throne, as stated in the obverse margin. Ṣāliḥ b. Dā'ūd b. 'Alī was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah and its dependencies, Dijlah, Baḥrayn, 'Umān, al-Furaḍ, al-Ahwāz and Fārs in the year 164 H.<sup>91</sup> These coins, and nos. 508-520, below, are, so far as I know, the first recorded 'Abbāsīd issues of Sābūr. It is curious that none should have been found in the excavations there. Arab-Sasanian and Umayyad coins of the mint (Bishāpūr and Sābūr) are well known; among others see nos. 103-134, 190 to 192, above. The phrasing and arrangement of the legends on the present coins is unusual.

**508-509.** The Caliph al-Mahdi. 167 H. = 783/4 A.D. Sābūr.  
Fals.

الخليفة  
المهدي  
امير المؤمنين  
.....

سابور  
سبع و  
ستين و  
مئة

<sup>91</sup> Ṭabari III, pp. 501, 503. Cf. Zambaur, p. 40.

Margin (between linear borders?) effaced.

Triple linear border.

I-2-1903 Æ 16.

PLATE X

1997 Æ 16.

PLATE X

**510-519.** Muḥammad [b. Yaḥyâ] Barmaki. 183 H. = 799/800 A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

\*

Area enclosed by double linear border, outside which 5 annulets ○.

ب.رمكى

محمد

رسول

الله

محمد

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلّس بسابور سنة ثلث وثمانين ومئة

Margin enclosed by linear borders, the outer of which interrupted by 5 annulets ○.

I-1-315 Æ 19, 1.50+.

I-2-1520/3 Æ 17.

1520/13 Æ 17.

PLATE X

1520/51 Æ 17.

PLATE X

1520/54 Æ 18.

1520/61 Æ 19.

PLATE X

1690d Æ 18.

1700a Æ 18.

PLATE X

1779b Æ 20.

PLATE X

1977b Æ 18.

These coins, with "Barmaki" above the reverse and Muḥammad beneath, are to be compared with those of the year 182 struck at Ardashīr-Khurrah, Iṣṭakhr and Fasā (nos. 327-336 and 478-489, above, and 562-580, below).

**520.** [Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ?] Barmaki. [18?]<sup>4</sup> H. = 800 (?) A.D. Sābūr. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

له . . . . .

Margin: . . . . . امر به (؟)

Margin between linear  
borders.

. . . . .

رسول

الله

برمكى

Margin: الفلس بسابور سنة  
ار . . .

Outer linear border.

I-2-1606b Æ 17.

The attribution is based on nos. 510-519, above, but everything except the word برمكى is dubious.

### J. Madīnat Samarqand

**521.** [Al-Faḍl b. Sahl]. 201 H. = 816/7 A.D. Madīnat Samarqand. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. i*, no. 288.

I-2-1687a Æ 25.

PLATE X

### K. Shīrāz

**522-552.** ‘Abdullāh b. al-Musayyib. 192 H. = 807/8 A.D. Shīrāz. Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

\*

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلس بشيراز  
سنة اثنتين وتسعين ومئة

Margin between linear  
borders.

ما امر به الا

مير عبد الله

بن المسيب

بخ

Margin: Qur’ān IX, 33.

Margin between linear  
borders.

The \* beneath the obverse is not always present.

I-1-602 Æ 20, 1.25 +. PLATE X	I-2-1520/66 Æ 19, 1.49 +.
I-2-1520/12 Æ 20, 3.06.	1520/68 Æ 20. PLATE X
1520/18 Æ 20, 2.24.	1520/71 Æ 21, 2.83.
1520/23 Æ 20.	PLATE XI
1520/26 Æ 20.	1520/73 Æ 20.
1520/29 Æ 22.	1520/74 Æ 19.
1520/30 Æ 21.	1535b Æ 17.
1520/32 Æ 19.	1626b Æ 19.
1520/34 Æ 19.	1658 Æ 21.
1520/37 Æ 22, 2.85. PLATE X	1680 Æ 20.
1520/40 Æ 19.	1692b Æ 20.
1520/46 Æ 21.	1762c Æ 19.
1520/47 Æ 21.	1772d Æ.
1520/48 Æ 21, 1.84 +.	1820d Æ 20.
1520/49 Æ 21.	1960 Æ 18. PLATE XI
1520/58 Æ 21.	1966a Æ 20.

The identity of the governor is uncertain. A certain 'Abdullāh b. al-Musayyib is mentioned once in Ṭabari in connection with events of the year 158 H.,<sup>92</sup> but this is 34 years before the date of these coins. However, this 'Abdullāh's father was al-Musayyib b. Zuhayr, who was a prominent general and official throughout the forties and fifties of the century<sup>93</sup> and was governor of Khurāsān as late as 163 to 166 H., in which latter year the province rose in revolt against him.<sup>94</sup> A son of his could therefore conceivably have been active in 192 H. There can hardly be any connection with Salm b. al-Musayyib who was governor of Iṣṭakhr and Shīrāz ca. 129 H. (nos. 180-184, above).

See no. 193, above, for an earlier issue of the Shīrāz mint.

<sup>92</sup> Ṭabari III, p. 455.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 3, 21, 80, 135, 195, 293, 382, 384.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* III, pp. 500-501, 503, 517.

**553.** Anonymous. 205 H. = 820/1 A.D. Fārs. Fals.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Margin between linear borders.

Margin between linear borders.

# PLATE XI

**M. Fasā**

ضرب

**نصیر**

بفصا

U

Border    

between linear circles.

I-2-1533 AE 18.

1688b Æ 19, 2.09.

1700b Æ 20, 2.51. PLATE XI

1821 Æ 17. PLATE XI

1875b Æ 19.

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The obverse margin seems to consist of only three or four words, the letter *ṣad* of what appears pretty definitely to be منصور, Manṣūr, being drawn out to cover nearly 80 % of the circumference. The word فارس, "in Fārs," is conjectural but quite possible. One of the best preserved obverse marginal legends is NR 61, p. 104, below.

Fasā was an important town between Darabjird and Shīrāz, by the 4th century of the Hijrah almost as large as Shīrāz. Like Tawwaj (see no. 504, above) it was well known for its textiles.<sup>96</sup> Fasā was a mint in early post-reform Umayyad times, and dirhems are known of the years 79, 80 and 81.<sup>97</sup> A sole 'Abbāsīd dirhem attributed to Fasā by Fraehn with a query is dated 166 H.;<sup>98</sup> the existence of the present *fulūs* of approximately the same date tend to confirm this attribution. These coins and nos. 562–580, below, are, so far as I know, the only bronze issues of the mint that have come to light.

It would be difficult to say whether Nuṣayr is the same person whose name occurs (always without patronymic) on a number of contemporary dirhems and *fulūs*: *Æ* Adharbayjān, 166,<sup>99</sup> *Æ* Madīnat al-Salām, 166,<sup>100</sup> *Æ* and *Æ* al-Baṣrah, 167,<sup>101</sup> *Æ* Armīniyah, 167,<sup>102</sup> *Æ* al-Baṣrah, 168,<sup>103</sup> *Æ* al-Mawṣil, 168,<sup>104</sup> *Æ* Adharbayjān, 169.<sup>105</sup> On these coins the name occurs either in isolated position in the area or else in the margin accompanied by the phrase '*alā yaday*, "at the hands of." I have suggested that this man might possibly be

<sup>96</sup> Le Strange, pp. 290, 293–294.

<sup>97</sup> *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, pp. lxxxv, 169.

<sup>98</sup> Tiesenhausen, no. 994.

<sup>99</sup> *Berlin*, no. 780.

<sup>100</sup> *B.M.* i, p. 206, no. 120; *Berlin*, nos. 2151–8; *Paris*, nos. 1620–21; *Antioch*, no. 121; and see below, no. 613.

<sup>101</sup> Tiesenhausen, no. 2772; *Berlin*, no. 2136.

<sup>102</sup> *Berlin*, no. 788.

<sup>103</sup> Tiesenhausen, no. 1047; *B.M.* i, no. 100.

<sup>104</sup> Tiesenhausen, no. 1054.

<sup>105</sup> *B.M.* ix, p. 45, no. 88<sup>t</sup>; *Berlin*, nos. 781–2; *Paris*, no. 691.

a certain eunuch and freedman by the name of Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf who in 169 was in charge of the postal service.<sup>106</sup>

**562-580.** Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ Barmaki. 182 H. = 798/9 A.D. Fasā. Fals.

لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
محمد	برمكي

Margin: ما امر به الامير ○ محمد بن ○ يحيى ○

Margin between inner linear and outer beaded borders.

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلص بفسا سنة اثنتين [or اثنتين] ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I-1-515 Æ 17. PLATE XI  
562 Æ 18.  
653 Æ 19.  
905 Æ 18, 2.64.  
912 Æ 18, 2.53.  
I-2-1520/15 Æ 17.  
1520/28 Æ 18.  
1530 Æ 18. PLATE XI  
1610 Æ 17. PLATE XI  
1622c Æ 17. PLATE XI

I-2-1671b Æ.  
1689 Æ 18.  
1695 Æ 19.  
1814 Æ 19. PLATE XI  
1847b Æ 19.  
1850 Æ 18. PLATE XI  
1912 Æ.  
1969 Æ 19.  
1986 Æ 19. PLATE XI

This issue of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ the Barmacide is to be compared with others of the same date struck at Ardashīr-Khurrah (nos. 327-336) and Iṣṭakhr (nos. 478-489), and those of Sābūr issued in 183 (nos. 510-519) and possibly 184 (no. 520).

#### N. Kūrat al-Mahdiyyah min Fārs

**581-602a.** Anonymous. 161 H. = 777/8 A.D. Kūrat al-Mahdiyyah min Fārs. Fals.

<sup>106</sup> *Antioch*, p. 117, citing Ṭabari III, pp. 461, 462, 545.



لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلّس سنة احدى  
وستين ومئة

Margin enclosed by linear  
border, outside which 4 or  
5 annulets ○.

- I-1-102 Æ 22.  
127 Æ 23, 3.37 +.  
358 Æ 22, 2.90 +.  
380 Æ 24, 2.89 +.  
407a Æ 21.  
407b Æ 21, 3.62 +.  
462 Æ 22. PLATE XI  
468 Æ 22.  
475 Æ 22. PLATE XI  
I-2-1554 Æ 24. PLATE XI  
1574 Æ.  
1592b Æ 20.

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس  
بكورة المهدية من فارس

Area and margin en-  
closed by linear borders,  
outside which 4 (?) an-  
nulets ○ and outer beaded  
border.

- I-2-1620 Æ 23.  
1655 Æ 21.  
1691c Æ 20. PLATE XI  
1729a Æ 23. PLATE XI  
1734b Æ.  
1740 Æ 24.  
1885a Æ 21. PLATE XI  
1885b Æ 22.  
1887 Æ 23. PLATE XI  
1973a Æ 24. PLATE XI  
HL 96, refuse Æ 22.

**603-608.** Similar to nos. 581-602, but above the reverse  
area: جور.

- I-1-89 Æ 23, 2.06 +. PLATE XI  
119 Æ 22, 2.58 +. PLATE XII  
464 Æ 22, 4.57 +.  
545 Æ 23.  
I-2-1573 Æ 24. PLATE XII  
1756 Æ 21. PLATE XII

**609.** Similar to nos. 581-602, but overstruck obverse on  
reverse.

- I-2-1538b Æ 20. PLATE XII

It is curious that only one specimen of these evidently plentiful issues (nos. 581–609) has hitherto been recorded, and this one specimen was double-struck or overstruck like no. 609, so that the publisher was unable to decipher the mint name, although he did read the first part of it, *Kūrah*. This specimen belonged to F. Soret and was described by him in 1854.<sup>107</sup> Soret speculated on the possibility that the mint name was to be read *Kūrat al-Muʿazzam*, and for this reason supposed that the coin may have been struck in Mecca.

Nos. 603–608 are the clue to the identification of this unrecorded geographical name, *Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs*: the *kūrah* or district must be Ardashīr-Khurrah, and the mint Jūr, otherwise known as Fīrūzābād, in early Islamic times the chief town of the district.<sup>108</sup> The five *kūrahs* or districts of Fārs in the classical Arab period were Ardashīr-Khurrah, Sābūr, Arrajān, Iṣṭakhr and Darabjird,<sup>109</sup> and at one time during my preliminary study of the Iṣṭakhr excavation coins I came to the conclusion that the *Kūrat al-Mahdīyah min Fārs* must be either Iṣṭakhr itself, Shīrāz or Sābūr.<sup>110</sup> But at that time I had not noticed the significance of the name Jūr on the variety (nos. 603–608). Obviously this new official name for the old Sasanian district was created to honor the Caliph al-Mahdi (father of Hārūn al-Rashīd),<sup>111</sup> but evidence that it did not continue long in vogue is provided by the issues of 167 H., only six years later,

<sup>107</sup> F. Soret, "Lettre à M. Sawelief," *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1854, pp. 285–286, no. 13 = Tiesenhausen, no. 915.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. the discussion under nos. 317–318, above; also nos. 319–323, and (Ardashīr-Khurrah with the amplifying specification "Jūr") nos. 324–326.

<sup>109</sup> Le Strange, p. 248.

<sup>110</sup> Miles, *A brief Report*, pp. 495–496. I was mistaken there in equating Ardashīr-Khurrah with Shīrāz; it was not until later that Shīrāz became the capital of the district (see p. 47, above).

<sup>111</sup> Another mint renamed in honor of al-Mahdi was Rayy, called al-Muḥammadiyah, after his given name, in 148 and for many years thereafter (down until the Ghaznavid period). See *NHR*, p. 31.

where the old name Ardashīr-Khurrah recurs (nos. 319–326); and the latter designation is still in use in 182 H. (nos. 327–336).

### O. Al-Muḥammadiyah

**610.** Hārūn al-Rashīd. 170 H. = 786/7 A.D. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Fals.

Obverse similar to *NHR* no. 70 F, reverse similar to *NHR* no. 70 G.

I-2-1928a Æ 21.

PLATE XII

**611.** Anonymous. 193 H. = 808/9 A.D. Al-Muḥammadiyah. Dirhem.

Similar to *NHR* no. 94 A.

I-1-97 Æ 22.

### P. Madīnat al-Salām

**612.** The Caliph Al-Mahdi. 162 H. = 778/9 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 126.

I-2-1588 Æ 23.

PLATE XII

**613.** The Caliph Al-Mahdi Muḥammad and Nuṣayr. 166 H. = 782/3 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Fals.

Similar to *B.M.* i, p. 206, no. 120.

I-2-1666 Æ 21, 2.63.

For Nuṣayr, see nos. 554–561, above.

**614.** Anonymous. 193 H. = 808/9 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 226.

I-1-203 Æ 22, 2.46.

**615.** The Caliph al-Rāḍī. 323 H. = 934/5 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 465.

I-2-1583 Æ 25.

PLATE XII

### Q. Ma'din al-Shāsh

**616.** Al-Ma'mūn as eventual heir. 190 H. = 805/6 A.D. Ma'din al-Shāsh. Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 228.

I-2-1519 Æ 25.

PLATE XII

### R. Wāsiṭ

**617-618.** Uncertain governor. 1x6 H. = ca. 753-783 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Fals.

Effaced.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس  
بواسط سنة ست و..... ومئة

Margin: ما(؟) امر به الامير  
محمد(؟).....

Margin enclosed by double linear border, annulets, outer thick linear border.

Margin between linear borders.

I-2-1520/69 Æ 20.

1957 Æ 20.

PLATE XII

This issue, unfortunately not wholly decipherable, appears to be unpublished.<sup>112</sup>

### S. No Mint Name

**619-621.** Anonymous. 156 H. = 772/3 A.D. No mint name. Fals.

<sup>112</sup> At least nothing similar seems to be recorded in Welin, *Wāsiṭ*.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Double beaded border  
enclosing 3 annulets ○.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب سنة ست  
وخسين ومئة

Margin between beaded  
borders, the outer of which  
interrupted by 3 pairs of  
annulets ○○.

I-2-1761 Æ 21.  
1780e Æ.  
1851 Æ 22.

PLATE XII

PLATE XII

#### T. Mint Effaced.

**622.** The Caliph al-Mahdi. 166 H. = 782/3 A.D. Mint effaced.  
Dirhem.

Probably similar to *B.M.* i, no. 132 (Madīnat al-Salām).

I-2-1686a Æ 24 (frg., cut in half).

**623-629.** Period of al-Mahdi. 158-169 H. = 775-785 A.D.  
Mint effaced. *Fulūs*.

Obscure bronze coins either bearing al-Mahdi's name,  
or a partial date, or exhibiting characteristics of the  
coinage of al-Mahdi.

I-1-31, 55, 179, 412.

I-2-1645, 1701b (PLATE XII), 1817 (PLATE XII).

**630.** Muḥammad [b. Yaḥyâ] Barmaki. 182 H. (?) =  
798/9 A.D. (?). Mint effaced. Fals.

Similar to the issues of Fasā of 182 H. (nos. 562-580),  
but ٢مك (?) instead of ٢مكى, mint and date effaced.

I-2-1520/36 Æ 18.

PLATE XII

**631-632.** Uncertain governor. 198 H. = 813/4 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

لا اله الا

مما امر به الام...

د....

.....

.....

.....

Border consists of two linear circles, between which alternating ∪ and ○.

Margin: ضرب هذا ال..... ثمان وتسعين ومئة

Margin between linear borders.

I-2-1849b Æ 17.  
1886b Æ 17.

U. Mint and Date Effaced, 'Abbāsīd 2nd Century H.

Ca. 750-815 A.D.

**633-849 d.** 221 unidentifiable bronze coins with 2nd century 'Abbāsīd characteristics.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

V. Mint Effaced, 'Abbāsīd 3rd Century H.

Ca. 815-912 A.D.

**850.** The Caliph al-Mutawakkil. Date effaced. 232-247 H. = 847-861 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

I-2-1901 Æ.

**851.** The Caliph al-Mu'tamid. 272 H. = 885/6 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

I-2-1585 Æ.

**852.** The Caliph al-Mu'tamid. Date effaced. 256-279 H. = 870-892 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

I-2-1992 Æ.

PLATE XII

**853-854.** Mint effaced. Date effaced. Dirhem fragments.

I-2-1657 *AR* (date ends مائتين).

1722 *AR*.

**855-856.** Mint effaced. Date effaced. *Fulūs*.

Dates end مائتين.

I-1-643 *Æ* 17.

I-2-1952 *Æ*.

## XII. SĀMĀNID

**857.** Manṣūr b. Nūḥ and Aḥmad b. Manṣūr. 3xx = 961-977

A.D. Bukhārā (?). Fals.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Outer margin: بسم الله ضرب

هذا الفلّس بخارا (؟).....

Inner margin: على يدي (؟)

..... و..... وثلاثمائة

Margin: مما امر به الامير احمد بن

منصور مولى امير المؤمنين

Margin between linear borders.

Marginal legends between linear borders.

I-2-1958 *Æ* 27.

PLATE XIII

This coin should be legible in its entirety but I have been unable to read parts of the marginal legends in the photograph. In some respects it is comparable to *B.M.* ii, no. 411.

## XIII. BÜYID

**858.** Şamşām al-Dawlah and Fakhr al-Dawlah. 38x H. = 990-998 A.D. Mint effaced. Dirhem.

لا اله.....

وحده لا شريك له.....

.....

الملك...

.....القا

.....فخر

.....وملك

Margin: بسم ..... بن وثلاث مائة

Outer border of dots,  
outside of which annulets  
○○ (one pair preserved).

I-2-1760 Æ 26.

Cf. *B.M.* ii, no. 667, with similar area legends.

.....صمصام الد

.....وشمس اله

.....ابو كا

::

Margin: traces.

Border of dots enclosing  
area.

PLATE XIII

**859-860.** Būyid. Late 4th to early 5th c. H. = late 10th to early 11th c. A.D.

Traces of legends suggest Būyid attribution.

I-2-1674 Æ.

1763a Æ (frg.).

## XIV. SELJŪQ?

**861.** Unidentifiable clipping. Ca. 5th c. H. = ca. 11th c. A.D.

Dinar fragment.

Traces of legend suggest the Seljūq period.

I-2-542 Æ 9+ (frg.).

PLATE XIII

## XV. ILKHĀNID

**862.** Abu-Sa'īd. 730 H. = 1329/30 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

لا اله الا

محمد...

.....

.....

...السلطان

في سنة ثنتين

...خان خا...

.....

I-2-1811a Æ 19.

PLATE XIII



**863.** Sulaymān Khān. 740-744 H. = 1339-1344 A.D. Kabīr Shaykh or Shaykh-i Kabīr. Bronze.

ن  
سليما  
خان

شيخ  
كبير  
ضرب

Linear circle and outer border of dots, obverse and reverse.

I-2-1684a Æ 16.

PLATE XIII

The location of this mint is unknown.<sup>113</sup> I have recorded in my files specimens in silver of the Ilkhānids Muḥammad, Ṭoghā Timūr and Sulaymān, dated 737,<sup>114</sup> 738, 739, 73x and 74x.

## XVI. AUTONOMOUS PERSIAN

**864.** Anonymous. 12th-13th c. H. = 18th-19th c. A.D. Iṣfahān. Bronze.

General type of *B.M. Shāhs of Persia*, p. 219, nos. 26 ff.

I-1-355 Æ 24, 18.10.

## XVII. QĀJĀR

**865.** Muḥammad Shāh. 1250-1264 H. = 1835-1848 A.D. Irān. Bronze.

Type of *B.M. Shāhs of Persia*, no. 576.

I-2-1592a Æ 19.

## XVIII. UNIDENTIFIABLE

**866-1046.** 181 unidentifiable bronze coins, the majority, to judge by their fabric, late Sasanian or early Islamic.

See the Inventory for the field numbers of these coins.

<sup>113</sup> B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran* (Berlin, 1955), pp. 129 and 133, lists this mint but does not indicate whether or not it has been identified.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. PT 10, p. 88, below.



Usual bust. At r.:

بسم الله

Margin, 2nd quarter:

بسم الله •

3rd quarter: •

PT-5-373b  $\mathcal{R}$  27, 2.60 (clipped).

PLATE XIII

Probably there were two or three pellets (• or ••) after بسم الله in the margin (as on other coins of ‘Abdullāh b. Zubayr’s at Zaranj),<sup>116</sup> but only one has been preserved as a result of clipping. The writing of the date is enigmatic and I can only suggest 63 as the probable date.

### III. Umayyad

Sābūr (?).

4. Anonymous. No date. Ca. 100–132 H. = ca. 718–750 A.D.  
Sābūr (?). Fals.

لا اله الا

الا

وحد

سابور (?)

محمد

رسول

الله •

Linear border.

PT-5-388  $\mathcal{A}$  19, 1.65.

Linear border.

PLATE XIII

### IV. ‘Abbāsīd

a) Iṣṭakhr

- 5-6. The Caliph al-Mahdi and Rabī‘. 167 H. = 783/4 A.D.  
Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

<sup>116</sup> The only published specimen of ‘Abdullāh b. Zubayr at Zaranj (*B.M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 32, no. M.20, year 69) is not fully described; but two unpublished specimens in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society (years 66? and 69) have • and •• respectively. Both incidentally have • in the 3rd quarter.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 391-470, pp. 60-61, above.

PT-7-360 Æ 16.

PLATE XIII

372 Æ 16.

PLATE XIII

#### b) Al-ʿAbbāsīyah

7. Yazīd? 171 H. (?) = 787/8 A.D. (?). Al-ʿAbbāsīyah. Dirhem.

Similar to *B.M.* i, no. 183, but reverse: above, \*جائز; beneath, یرید?

PT-7-212 Æ 25.

PLATE XIII

As is the case with almost all the coins of this mint the legends on this specimen are exceedingly difficult to read. Here an additional difficulty is that the coin is double struck. My reading of the date is doubtful. The word جائز is dubious, but یرید is almost certainly correct. At all events I have not found in the published literature or in the collection of the American Numismatic Society any other specimen with a similar legend above the reverse area.

#### c) Mint Effaced

8. Uncertain governor. 2nd c. H. = ca. 750-815 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

Conventional formulae, no distinctive legends preserved.

PT-5-838 Æ 17.

### V. ILKHĀNID

9. Abu-Saʿīd. No date. 716-736 H. = 1316-1336 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Very obscure, probably similar to Naqsh-i Rostam Excavations, no. 68, p. 106, below.

PT-7-227 Æ 16.

**10. Muḥammad Khān. 737 H. = 1336/7 A.D. Kabīr Shaykh or Shaykh-i Kabīr. Bronze.**

Within square, within circular linear and dotted border:

(sic) السلطان

(sic) محمد

خلد ملکه

In segments between square and circle: •✱•

In center, within ornamental triangle within linear and dotted border:

ب  
ضر  
شیخ  
کبیر

In segments between triangle and circle: | سنة سبع  
و... ن | و... نة

PT-5-845 Æ 22, 2.50.

PLATE XIV

For the same mint name on a coin of Sulaymān Khān, see Iṣṭakhr Excavations, no. 863, p. 84, above.

## VI. ILKHĀNID OR SUCCESSOR

**11-13. Uncertain rulers. Ca. 700-750 H. = ca. 1300-1350 A.D. Mints effaced. Bronze.**

Few traces preserved; roughly attributable by style and fabric.

PT-3-10 Æ 23.

18 Æ 16.

19 Æ 25.

## VII. MUẒAFFARID

**14. Shāh Shujā'. 765-786 H. = 1363-1384 A.D. Idhaj. Dirhem.**

Within square formed by elongated bases of surrounding inscription:

Within curved polygonal frame:

بلد	اللطان (sic)
• اينج	وامير المؤمنين
Around: لا اله... الله محمد رسول الله	.. لمطاع شاه شجاع
الله	ضرب اينج...
	خلد الله ملكه
	scroll

PT-3-14 R 18, 1.40.

PLATE XIV

Quite a few coins of this dynasty struck at Idhaj have been published, but none, so far as I know, of this type. Idhaj, the Māl-Amīr or Malamir of today, lies in Khūzistān south-east of Tustar on the Dujayl.<sup>117</sup>

## VIII. TĪMŪRID

- 15.** Tīmūr Gūrkhān and Maḥmūd. Date effaced or no date.  
Ca. 790–800 H. = ca. 1388–1398 A.D. Shīrāz. Bronze.

.....	Within ornamental
.. لسلطان مح...	circle (?):
... مور کورکان	عدبة
... لك...	شيراز

PT-5-840 Æ 20, 1.98.

PLATE XIV

Cf. *B.M.* vii, nos. 38–43, in some respects similar, but this is a different issue.

## IX. AUTONOMOUS PERSIAN

## a) Shīrāz

- 16.** Anonymous. 12th–13th c. H. = 18th–19th c. A.D.  
Shīrāz. Bronze.

Unidentifiable quadru-  
ped, walking right.

فلوس  
ب  
ضرب شيراز

PT-5-16 Æ 25, 18.30.

PLATE XIV

<sup>117</sup> Le Strange, p. 245.

## b) Uncertain Mint

- 17.** Anonymous. Probably 11th-12th c. H. = 17th-18th c. A.D. Mint? Bronze.

See illustration.

PT-5-839 Æ 17 × 13, 1.45.

PLATE XIV

- 18.** Anonymous. 12th-13th c. H. = 18th-19th c. A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Lion (?), walking right.

.....فلو

ب

.....

PT-5-436 Æ 21, 9.50.

## X. UNIDENTIFIABLE ISLAMIC

- 19.** Unidentifiable, probably after 8th c. H. = after 14th c. A.D. Bronze.

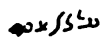

Traces of letters on one side.

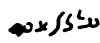

PT-3-6 Æ 17.

## NAQSH-I RUSTAM EXCAVATIONS

### I. PERSIS

#### 1. Artaxerxes V and Papek. Ca. 200 A.D. Obol?

Bust of Artaxerxes V, facing; long pointed beard, long side hair. Tiara with star and crescent in center. At r.: . At l.: . Border of dots, overlapping at r.

At r.: . At l.: .

Border of dots.

NR-I-53  $\mathfrak{R}$  11, 0.55.



PLATE XIV

This type appears to be unpublished. Of comparable style is de Morgan, *Manuel*, p. 288, fig. 370; and cf. de Morgan, pl. XXXIV, nos. 18-22.

### II. SASANIAN

#### A. SILVER<sup>118</sup>

#### 2. Bahram IV. 388-399 A.D. Uncertain mint. Dirhem.

Type of Paruck, nos. 284-286, pl. XIII. Obverse legend abbreviated and barbarous. Reverse: at l. ; at r. .

NR-2-57  $\mathfrak{R}$  25.

PLATE XIV

#### 3. Bahram V. 420-438 A.D. No mint signature? Dirhem.

Semi-barbarous type somewhat comparable to Paruck, no. 318, pl. XIV. Obverse: illegible inscriptions r. and l. Reverse: no legible inscription, possible traces at r.



NR-2-51  $\mathfrak{R}$  30.

PLATE XIV

<sup>118</sup> Arranged chronologically by rulers, and alphabetically by mints within reigns.



4. Hormizd IV. Year 5 = 583 A.D. NIH = Nihāvand. Dirhem.



Type of Paruck, nos. 343 ff., pl. XX. Reverse: at r.  ; at l. .

NR-I-9/1 Æ 28 (fragmentary).

PLATE XIV



This mint signature has been identified by Walker (*B.M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. civ, no. 45). It is Paruck's no. 134. Göbl for some reason omits it.

5. Hormizd IV. Year 9 = 587 A.D. RD = Rayy. Dirhem.

Reverse: at r.  ; at l. .

NR-I-9/2 Æ 27, 2.70+ (frg. lacking).



6. Khosrau II. Year 37 = 626 A.D. DR = Darabjird. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r.  ; at l. .

NR-I-9/12 Æ 32, 3.40.

The mint signature is Paruck's no. 78, Göbl's no. 32.



7. Khosrau II. Year 31 = 620 A.D. MR = Merv. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r.  ; at l. .

NR-I-9/10 Æ 28 (frgs. lacking).

The mint signature is Walker's no. 40a, Paruck's no. 110, Göbl's no. 47 (2nd variety).

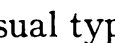


8. Khosrau II. Year 33 = 622 A.D. MR = Merv. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r.  ; at l. .

NR-I-9/11 Æ 28, 2.81.

PLATE XIV

9. Khosrau II. Year 26? = 615 A.D.? NHR = Nahr-Tirā. Dirhem.

Usual type. Obverse:  in 2nd quarter. Reverse: at r.  ; at l. .

NR-I-9/8 Æ 33, 3.23+ (frg. lacking).

- 10.** Khosrau II. Year 35 = 624 A.D. NHR = Nahr-Tirâ. Dirhem.

Usual type, but in obverse margin, 2nd quarter: الله.

Reverse: at r. ; at l. .

NR-2-15 Æ 33.

PLATE XV

Note the unusual marginal legend. The mint signature is apparently a variety of Paruck's no. 130, Walker's no. 44a, Göbl's no. 53, but at all events almost certainly NHR.

- 11.** Khosrau II. Year 7 = 596 A.D. NH = Nihāvand. Dirhem.


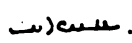
Early "beardless" type. Reverse: at r. ; at l. .

NR-1-9/3 Æ 31, 3.28+ (frg. lacking).

PLATE XV

The mint signature is Walker's no. 43 or 43a, Paruck's no. 130 or 131, Göbl's no. 51.

- 12.** Khosrau II. Year 16 = 605 A.D. NIH = Nihāvand. Dirhem.


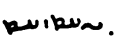
Usual type. Reverse: at r. ; at l. .

NR-1-9/5 AR 32, 3.37.

PLATE XV

For the mint signature, compare no. 4.

- 13.** Khosrau II. Year 28 = 617 A.D. NH = Nihāvand. Dirhem.


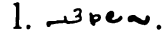
Usual type. Reverse: at r. ; at l. .

NR-1-9/9 Æ 31, 3.12+ (small frg. lacking).

PLATE XV

For the mint signature, compare no. 11.

- 14.** Khosrau II. Year 17 = 606 A.D. RD = Rayy. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. ; at l. .

NR-1-9/6 Æ 28, 2.97+.

7\*

- 15.** Khosrau II. Year 34? = 623 A.D.? ST = Iṣṭakhr. Dirhem.

Usual type, but in obverse margin, 2nd quarter: 𐭮𐭥𐭥.

Reverse: at r. 𐭮𐭥𐭥; at l. 𐭮𐭥𐭥.

NR-2-38 Æ 24 (clipped).

PLATE XV

- 16.** Khosrau II. Year 35 = 624 A.D. ŠR? = Shīrajān? Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. 𐭮𐭥𐭥; at l. 𐭮𐭥𐭥.

NR-1-9/7 Æ 31, 2.88+ (frgs. lacking).

PLATE XV

The mint signature is enigmatic. Perhaps comparable are Paruck's no. 2 (AB, Abrashahr?), his nos. 186 and 208 (uncertain attribution), Göbl's no. 64 and Walker's no. 49, Shīrajān. The latter seems to me the most likely identification. Shīrajān was the late Sasanian and early Islamic capital of Kirmān province.<sup>119</sup>

- 17.** Khosrau II. 590-628 A.D. Date effaced. ZR = Zaranj. Dirhem.

Usual type. Reverse: at r. 𐭮𐭥𐭥; at l. obscure.

I-1-9/4 Æ 31, 3.60.

The mint signature is a variant of Paruck's nos. 248-251, Walker's no. 57 and Göbl's no. 73.

#### B. BRONZE

- 18-20.** Probably Khosrau II. 590-628 A.D. Bronze.

Three poorly preserved and obscure bronze coins with obverse bust resembling that of Khosrau II and reverse fire-altar and attendants; one (NR-1-45) possibly bearing the Iṣṭakhr mint signature.

NR-1-45 Æ 16.

51 Æ 27.

56 Æ 13.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Miles, *Kirmān*.

**21. Late Sasanian. 6th-7th c. A.D. Bronze.**

Traces of bust ?

Camel (?), walking r.

NR-I-49 Æ 17.

**22-29. Late Sasanian. 6th-7th c. A.D. Bronze.**

Obscure largely effaced coins recognizable by their fabric as late Sasanian but otherwise unidentifiable.

NR-I-46a Æ 20.

NR-I-61 Æ 14.

46b Æ 14.

62 Æ 13.

58 Æ 18.



63 Æ 16.

60 Æ 12.

NR-2-48 Æ 11.





**III. ARAB-SASANIAN****A. SILVER****a) *Anonymous*****30. Anonymous (name of Yezdigird III). 20 Y.E.<sup>120</sup> = 31 H. = 651/2 A.D. NHR = Nahr-Tîrâ. Dirhem.**

Usual type of Yezdigird III, with name at right. In margin, 2nd quarter, traces of Kufic legend جید (?).

Usual type. At r. ; at l. . Crescent l., star r. of flames.

NR-I-9/13 Æ 28, 2.35 + (clipped).

PLATE XV

Cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 3, no. 2, which has  in the margin.**b) ‘*Abdullāh b. Zubayr*****1. Ardashīr-Khurrah****31. ‘Abdullāh b. Zubayr. 66 H. = 685/6 A.D. ART = Ardashīr-Khurrah. Dirhem.**Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 29, no. I.14, except obverse margin: . Reverse: at r. ; at l. . Star l., crescent r. of flames.



NR-I-9/16 Æ 32, 3.45.

PLATE XVI

<sup>120</sup> Yezdigird era.

## 2. Kirmān

32. ‘Abdullāh b. Zubayr. 69 H. = 688/9 A.D. KRMNRMAN = Kirmān. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 32, no. 41, except different dies, no countermarks. Reverse: at r. ; at l. . Crescent l., star r. of flames.


NR-I-9/17 Æ 31, 3.61.

PLATE XVI

Mention of this specimen was made in Miles, *Kirmān*, footnote 16. The mint signature bears an unpublished variety of suffix, the meaning of which, like the numerous others at the Kirmān mint, is undetermined.<sup>121</sup>

## c) Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān

33. Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān. 41 Y.E. = 53 H. = 672/3 A.D. DAP = Darabjird. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 40, no. 58, except mint signature . Star l., crescent r. of flames.


NR-I-9/14 Æ 31, 3.47.

PLATE XVI

Walker reads this variety of the Darabjird mint signature as DAR (his no. 18), but it would seem to me that DAP is a more likely reading.

## d) ‘Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād

34. ‘Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād. 62 H. = 681/2 A.D. BJRA = al-Baṣrah. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 59, no. 88. Reverse: pellet r. of mint signature; at l. . Crescent l., pellet r. of flames.

NR-I-9/15 Æ 28, 2.31 + (frg. of rim lacking).

PLATE XVI

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Miles, *Kirmān*.

e) 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh

1. Bishāpūr

**35-36.** 'Umar b. 'Ubaydullāh. 67 H. = 686/7 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 103-107, p. 26, above.

NR-I-9/18 Å 31, 3.51.

9/19 Å 32, 3.50.

PLATE XVI

**37.** The same. 68 H. = 687/8 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, no. 108, p. 26, above.

NR-I-9/20 Å 32, 3.62.

**38.** The same.

Similar to no. 37, but star l., crescent r. of flames, as on

*B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, no. 196.

NR-I-9/21 Å 31, 3.45.

PLATE XVI

**39-40.** The same. 69 H. = 688/9 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 100, no. 197, except: mint signature no. 12b, and date written «سرسر». Star l., crescent r. of flames.

NR-I-9/22 Å 31, 3.61.

9/23 Å 31, 3.45.

PLATE XVI

**41-45.** The same. 70 H. = 689/90 A.D. BIŠ = Bishāpūr. Dirhem.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 109-134, p. 27, above.

NR-I-9/26 Å 31, 3.52.

9/27 Å 30, 3.47.

PLATE XVII

9/28 Å 30, 2.87 + (clipped).

9/31 Å 31, 3.20.

9/32 Å 31, 3.30.

PLATE XVII

(9/36 Å 32, 3.48).<sup>122</sup>

PLATE XVII

**46.** The same.

Similar to nos. 41-45, but date written 𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿.

NR-I-9/33 Å 31, 2.85 + (frg. lacking).

**47-48.** The same.

Similar to nos. 41-45, but no pellet before 𐎠 in obverse margin.

NR-I-9/29 Å 31, 3.48 + (piece lacking).

PLATE XVII

9/30 Å 31, 3.10.

PLATE XVII

## 2. Uncertain Mint

**49.** The same. 69 H. = 688/9 A.D. VIŠP or NIŠP or NIŠČ, etc.? Dirhem.Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 102, no. B.35, but obverse margin: 𐎱•𐎠𐎼𐎿•𐎠𐎼𐎿•𐎠𐎼𐎿. Reverse: at r. •𐎠𐎼𐎿. Star l., crescent r. of flames.

NR-I-9/24 Å 32, 3.40.

PLATE XVII

**50.** The same.

Similar to no. 49, but mint written: •𐎠𐎼𐎿•.

NR-I-9/25 Å 32, 3.48.




PLATE XVII

<sup>122</sup> This coin, now among those belonging to the Oriental Institute, was found in the envelope marked NR-I-9/36, but the field inventory card for this number (prepared by the writer in 1936) describes a coin of Qaṭari (see no. 53, below). Obviously at some point two coins and envelopes were switched. In order to keep the number of specimens correct I have counted only five specimens of this issue, as one of the others listed above (now in Teheran) may actually be the one now in envelope 9/36.

The mint signature is a puzzle. The letters can be read in many different ways. Walker (*B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. civ, no. 45a and p. cxxv) reads NĪH (?) for Nihāvand, but I find it difficult to accept this interpretation. Could it by any chance be a rendering of the old Pahlevi name of Bishāpūr, that is, Wēh-Shāhpuhr? The fact that all the other coins of ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydullāh in this hoard were struck at the mint of Bishāpūr might lend some support to this suggestion.<sup>123</sup> The only other known example of this mint signature is on a coin of ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydullāh, year 72 (?).<sup>124</sup>

f) 'Atīyah b. al-Aswad

**51.** 'Aṭīyah b. al-Aswad. 73 H. = 692/3 A.D. KRMAN-RB (?)  
= Kirmān. Dirhem.

Usual bust. At r.:  Usual fire-altar and attendants. At r.: ; at l. . Star l., crescent r. of flames.



NR-I-9/34 R 3I, 3.38.

# PLATE XVIII

Cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. III, no. I.45, dated 73 or 76 (?), with a different mint suffix. Here we have still another variety of these mysterious appended letters. Cf. no. 32, above.

This specimen was mentioned and illustrated in Miles, *Kirmān*, footnote 22, plate, 3.

**52.** The same. 74 H. = 693/4 A.D. KRMAN-NHR = Kirmān.  
Dirhem.

Similar to no. 51, but in 3rd quarter of obverse margin:  
 ۱۰۵۱. Reverse: at r. ; at l. .

NR-I-9/35 R 31, 3.72.

<sup>123</sup> If the first letter is N, the abbreviation might be for Nāshāpūr, which according to Mustawfi was a form of the name Bishāpūr (Le Strange, p. 263).

<sup>124</sup> Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, no. 37.



Cf. *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 111, no. Th.15, and *RIC*, no. 29, which however lack the Pahlevi legend in the 3rd quarter of the obverse and have mint signature KRMAN (Walker's no. 28). The mint signature here appears to be similar to Walker's no. 34. The present specimen was mentioned in Miles, *Kirmān*, footnote 22. An unpublished specimen is a recent American Numismatic Society accession (ANS 57.84) with 𐭠𐭣 in the 3rd quarter of the obverse and mint signature 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 (Walker's no. 33).

g) *Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'ah*

53.<sup>125</sup> Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'ah. 75 H. = 694/5 A.D. DARTM or DARAWM = Darabjird. Dirhem.

Similar to *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*, p. 113, no. 220, but mint signature appears to be: 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣.

NR-1-9/36 Æ 30, 3.70.

The mint signature is reproduced here from my own transcription of it in the field. It is possible that the letter which I read as a *t* is blurred and actually is the same as the element on the *B.M.* specimen, i.e., AW. Unfortunately there is no photograph of the coin and it is presumably in the Teheran Museum. An unpublished specimen in the American Numismatic Society (ANS 56.137) has 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣. Another variety of the same mint and date (with mint signature DA apparently) has been described since the publication of *B. M. Arab-Sasanian*.<sup>126</sup>

Both John Walker and I<sup>127</sup> are mistaken in furnishing Qaṭari's name with the definite article. The legend of course does not have it, and he is simply Qaṭari in the chronicles.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>125</sup> This is the coin which originally bore the field number NR-1-9/36. Cf. footnote 122, above.

<sup>126</sup> T. O. Mabbott in *Numismatic Review* IV (1947), p. 28, not illustrated.




<sup>127</sup> Miles, *Museum Notes* VII, p. 203.

<sup>128</sup> I owe this observation to G. Levi Della Vida.

## B. BRONZE

a) *Iṣṭakhr*

54. Uncertain governor. Ca. 70-90 H. = ca. 689-709 A.D.  
Iṣṭakhr. Bronze.

Facing head, bearded.  
Cross above headdress. At  
r. ; at l. , and  
above it  (?). Beaded  
border.

NR-2-2 Æ 20.




In center, uncertain fig-  
ure, possibly a large tall M,  
with  beneath base line.  
At r. ; at l.   
(APSTAN). Beaded border.

PLATE XVIII

This very interesting coin is unique. The occurrence of the Byzantine cross and M on hybrid Arab-Sasanian bronzes is however not without parallel: cf. Walker, *Coins from Susa*, nos. 6, 13, 15. The almost complete spelling out of the mint name is met with on two specimens found in the Iṣṭakhr excavations (nos. 146-147, above, p. 35), where also a cross is present above the reverse type. APSTAN, for *apastān*, is an important addition to the limited Pahlavi vocabulary of Arab-Sasanian numismatics. There can be little doubt about the correctness of the reading, which I owe to my friend Professor Richard N. Frye. The word is common on Sasanian seals,<sup>129</sup> the meaning essentially being, "refuge, confidence, faith,"<sup>130</sup> I would suggest that here the sense is identical with the Arabic *al-waḥā*, which already appears on some Arab-Byzantine bronzes,<sup>131</sup> and soon occurs frequently on bronze coins of pure Arab type,<sup>132</sup> as well as on glass weights.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>129</sup> P. Horn & G. Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine* (Berlin, 1891), pp. 37-38.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. *apastām*, "Zuflucht," H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* II (Uppsala, 1931), p. 16; *apestī*, Paruck, p. 274.


<sup>131</sup> *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, p. 51.

<sup>132</sup> E.g., at al-Rayy in 101, 104, 110 and 116 H. (*NHR*, nos. 26-28, 30); and for others, with or without mint name, cf. *B. M. Arab-Byzantine*, index.

<sup>133</sup> G. C. Miles, *Contributions to Arabic Metrology*, I (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 141, N.Y., 1958), index.

b) *Uncertain Mint*

55. Anonymous. 11x H. (?) = 728-737 A.D. (?). Mint effaced. Bronze.

Crude bust, r., with tall  
headdress. On breast .

At l., downward محمد; at r.,  
downward (faint) رسول الله.

Across face, upward محمد.

Double beaded border.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك...

بسم الله... عشر (10) ومئة: Margin

Beaded border with annulets (?).

NR-2-3b Æ 21.

PLATE XVIII

It is a great pity that the reverse of this truly remarkable coin is not completely preserved so that the mint and exact date can be fixed. The word عشر is fairly certain, placing the issue probably in the teens of the 2nd century of the Hijrah; at all events it is after 99 H., because مئة is entirely clear. The combination of a bust of Sasanian inspiration (though no longer the "bust of Khosrau II") with a developed conventional post-reform reverse (one would normally call it the obverse since it bears the first part of the *shahadah* and the mint-date formula, but I have given precedence to the bust) presents an advanced stage of transitional hybrid. It would be interesting to know whether or not the word محمد across the face is a counterstamp or is on the die itself. Despite the fact that there appears to be no corresponding protuberance on the other side of the coin, I would judge that the word is a counterstamp and that it was intentionally applied to mutilate the face, which one may assume had by this time become distasteful to strict partisans of the nascent Islamic iconoclastic sentiment.

For coins with a somewhat similar bust in combination with a post-reform legend, cf. Iştaḥr Excavations, nos. 155-159, p. 38, above.

- 56.** Uncertain. Ca. 80–120 H. = ca. 699–738 A.D. Uncertain mint. Bronze.

An obscure coin with 2 or 3-line legends on each face, the characters either Pahlevi or possibly Kufic engraved by a Pahlevi-writing artisan.

NR-I-59 Æ 22.

PLATE XVIII

#### IV. POST-REFORM Umayyad

##### a) Iṣṭakhr

- 57.** Anonymous. 130 H. = 747/8 A.D. Iṣṭakhr. Fals.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 185–189, p. 45 above, but there are evidences on both sides that the specimen was restruck on an earlier coin.

NR-2-30 Æ 21.

PLATE XVIII

##### b) Wāsiṭ

- 58.** Anonymous. 124 H. = 741/2 A.D. Wāsiṭ. Fals.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده لا  
شريك له

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Double linear border enclosing 5 annulets; outer broad linear border.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس  
بواسط سنة اربع وعشرين ومئة

Linear border enclosing area; linear border with 3 (of 5?) half annulets enclosing margin; outer broad linear border.

NR-I-48 Æ 20, 2.78.

PLATE XVIII

Cf. Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 199–200, p. 48, above, probably the same, but obverse effaced.

## c) Uncertain Mint

**59.** Uncertain governor. Ca. 100–132 H. = ca. 718–750 A.D. Fals.

Usual formulae, no significant legends preserved.

NR-1-55 Æ 19.

## V. 'ABBĀSID

## a) Ardashīr-Khurrah (?)

**60.** Uncertain governor or anonymous. Date effaced. Mid-2nd. c. H. = ca. 750–790 A.D. Ardashīr-Khurrah (?). Fals.

Effaced except for obverse margin: ... ضرب هذا...  
(؟)... در د ش.

NR-1-52 Æ 20.

## b) Fasā

**61.** The Caliph al-Mahdi and Nuṣayr. No date. 158–169 H. = 775–785 A.D. Fasā. Fals.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 554–561, p. 73, above.

NR-2-3a Æ 20.

PLATE XVIII

## c) Kūrat al-Mahdiyyah min Fārs

**62-63.** Anonymous. 161 H. = 777/8 A.D. Kūrat al-Mahdiyyah min Fārs. Fals.

Similar to Iṣṭakhr Excavations, nos. 603–608, p. 76, above, except that beneath obverse, ornament or letter:

✕.

NR-1-50 Æ 23, 2.30.

2-1 Æ 23.

PLATE XVIII

PLATE XVIII

## c) Madīnat al-Salām

- 64.** Anonymous. 213 H. = 828/9 A.D. Madīnat al-Salām. Dirhem.

Similar to *Berlin*, no. 1413.

NR-1-54 Æ 28 (frg.,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

PLATE XVIII

## e) Mint Effaced

- 65.** Uncertain governor. 15x = 768-776 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

Margin: ....(؟)ما امر به

بسم الله ضرب هذا....  
.....مسین ومئة

Margin within dotted borders.

Margin within inner dotted border and outer beaded border. Annulets?

NR-2-50 Æ 21.

- 66.** The Caliph al-Mahdi. 16x = 777-786 A.D. Mint effaced. Fals.

لا اله الا

الخليفة [المهدي؟]

الله وحده

محمد

لا شريك له

امير المؤمنين

Five annulets between thin inner and thick outer linear borders.

بسم الله....ستين ومئة

NR-2-3c Æ 18.

- 67.** Unidentifiable, probably 'Abbāsīd. 2nd c. H. = 8th c. A.D. Fals.

Almost completely obliterated.

NR-1-47 Æ 19.

## VI. ILKHĀNID

68. Abu-Sa'īd. No date. 716–736 H. = 1316–1336 A.D. Mint effaced. Bronze.

Within polygonal frame      Traces of ornament or  
surrounded by linear bor-      legend.  
der and border of dots:

بو  
اسعيد  
بهادر

NR-2-17 Æ 20.

PLATE XVIII

Cf. Persepolis Terrace Excavations, no. 9, p. 87, above.

## VII. ILKHĀNID OR SUCCESSOR

69. Uncertain ruler. Date effaced. 8th c. H. = 14th c. A.D. Uncertain mint. Bronze.

Within square enclosed      In center, within circle:  
by circle:

لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
رسول الله

.....  
ضر  
ب

Margin: ....سلطان(؟)....  
Outer linear border.

NR-2-59 Æ 21.

PLATE XVIII

## VIII. MUẒAFFARID

70. Shāh Shujā'. No date. 765–786 H. = 1363–1384 A.D. Shīrāz. Bronze.

Within double linear bor-      Within double linear bor-  
der and outer border of      der:  
dots:

شاه  
شجاع

NR-2-26 Æ 16.

Evidently unpublished.

ع... (۲)  
شیراز

PLATE XVIII

**71.** The same. Shīrāz. Bronze.

Within polygon (?):

.....  
السلطان المطاع  
○ شجاع ○

NR-2-54 Æ 21.

Within double square:

عدلیه  
شیراز

PLATE XVIII

This type also evidently is unpublished. The title al-Mutā' is present on published silver coins of Shāh Shujā'.<sup>134</sup>

UNIDENTIFIABLE ISLAMIC

**72.** Coin or token of 9th c. H. (?) = 15th c. A.D. (?). Bronze.

.....  
والعز الدائم  
.....

Negative impression of  
obverse.

Linear border and outer  
border of dots.

NR-1-57 Æ 18.

**73.** Unidentified Islamic. Bronze.

No field record other than "Islamic."

NR-2-12 Æ 18.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. *B.M.* vi, nos. 671 ff.



# INVENTORY OF FIELD CATALOGUE NUMBERS

## IṢṬAKHR

Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.
I-I-17	39I	I-I-146	633	I-I-243b	22	I-I-336	258
3I	623	148	3I	245	176	337	3I
34	633	149	138	248	3I	339	23
55	623	150	173	252	39I	34I	633
63	344	160	39I	252a	178	344	633
63a	146	166	146	257	364	354	39I
63b	237	168	202	267	3I	355	864
67a	3I	170	180	276	344	358	58I
67b	866	179	623	278	258	359	3I
7I	633	181	258	281	155	363	633
75	39I	184	633	282	633	364	3I9
8I	160	186	39I	283	633	366	39I
89	603	189	258	284	554	370	24
92	39I	191	258	290	633	372	258
93	3I	193	154	291	866	376	490
96	866	197	633	295	202	380	58I
97	61I	199	39I	300	39I	382	370
100	180	203	614	301	370	385	3I
102	58I	205	3I	302	633	386	47I
105	2I	210	39I	306	633	388	633
113	39I	211	258	307	370	389	633
114	180	220	29	312	633	393	633
116	3I	220a	3I	312a	344	394	202
117	199	225	237	313	258	406	258
119	603	226	3I	315	510	407	185
120	237	230	202	318	258	407a	58I
126	237	231	3I	319	202	407b	58I
127	58I	241	633	319a	633	412	623
131	370	241a	633	321	164	413	3I
136	633	242	180	322	157	414	633
142	3I	242a	180	325	24	424	3I
143	143	243	258	333	258	425	39I
145	258	243a	3I	335	370	425a	866

Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.
I-I-436	3I	I-I-655b	39I	I-I-9Iii	8	I-I-928/30	109
462	58I	657	383	9Iij	8	928/3I	109
464	603	657a	383	9I2	562	928/32	109
468	58I	658	633	9I2a	633	928/33	109
474	633	659	258	9I3	633	929	39I
475	58I	660	202	9I4	13	929a	472
477	633	882	24	9I6	202	929b	39I
48I	258	883	3I	9I8	24	932	478
484	258	884	39I	9I9	39I	933	866
485	258	885	138	9I9a	472	934	383
5II	15I	886	202	92I	633	935	554
5I5	562	887	39I	927	142	935a	39I
5I6	39I	889	633	928/I	103	936	364
5I9	633	890	202	928/2	103	937	370
52I	39I	892	258	928/3	103	938	499
529	633	893	344	928/4	103	938a	150
545	603	893a	39I	928/5	103	940	3I
56I	39I	894	2	928/6	108	94I	30
562	562	895	327	928/7	108	942	3I
572	3I	896	258	928/8	109	943	3I
573	3I	897	16	928/9	109	948	39I
575	202	898	633	928/10	109	I-2-13	866
59I	3I	90I	39I	928/II	109	114	866
598	3I	902	39I	928/12	109	249	177
602	522	903	190	928/13	109	278	633
604	39I	905	562	928/14	109	542	86I
626	173	906	344	928/15	109	1515	866
626a	258	906a	633	928/16	109	1516a	3I
627	3I	907	15	928/17	109	1516b	633
629	3I	908	633	928/18	109	1518	196
63I	3I	908a	633	928/19	109	1519	616
635	24	909	15I	928/20	109	1520/I	866
643	855	910	157	928/21	109	1520/2	633
645	39I	9IIa	3	928/22	109	1520/3	510
646	258	9IIb	4	928/23	109	1520/4	633
647	3I	9IIc	4	928/24	109	1520/5	258
652	3I	9IId	4	928/25	109	1520/6	258
653	562	9IIe	4	928/26	109	1520/7	478
654	185	9IIIf	8	928/27	109	1520/8	633
655	554	9IIg	8	928/28	109	1520/9	633
655a	3I	9IIh	8	928/29	109	1520/10	866

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I-2-1520/11	633	I-2-1520/52	866	I-2-1536a	633	I-2-1565	31
1520/12	522	1520/53	258	1536b	231	1566	31
1520/13	510	1520/54	510	1537	633	1567	866
1520/14	633	1520/55	633	1538a	866	1568	633
1520/15	562	1520/56	172	1538b	609	1569	364
1520/16	633	1520/57	258	1538c	633	1570	369
1520/17	633	1520/58	522	1539	633	1571	633
1520/18	522	1520/59	633	1540	866	1572	633
1520/19	633	1520/60	633	1541	633	1573	603
1520/20	866	1520/61	510	1542	156	1574	581
1520/21	633	1520/62	179	1543	319	1575	202
1520/22	633	1520/63	478	1544a	340	1576	31
1520/23	522	1520/64	633	1544b	237	1577a	31
1520/24	866	1520/65	490	1545a	866	1577b	866
1520/25	633	1520/66	522	1545b	633	1578	148
1520/26	522	1520/67	866	1545c	866	1579	144
1520/27	498	1520/68	522	1546	237	1580	866
1520/28	562	1520/69	617	1547a	230	1581	88
1520/29	522	1520/70	383	1547b	88	1582	477
1520/30	522	1520/71	522	1547c	866	1583	615
1520/31	866	1520/72	633	1548	866	1584	258
1520/32	522	1520/73	522	1549	20	1585	851
1520/33	633	1520/74	522	1550	391	1586	633
1520/34	522	1521	237	1551	237	1587	383
1520/35	327	1522	31	1552a	866	1588	612
1520/36	630	1523	633	1552b	499	1589	324
1520/37	522	1524	866	1553	866	1590	339
1520/38	633	1525	391	1554	581	1591	344
1520/39	258	1526a	165	1555	504	1592a	865
1520/40	522	1526b	633	1556a	237	1592b	581
1520/41	633	1527	185	1556b	633	1593	344
1520/42	866	1528	14	1556c	490	1594	202
1520/43	633	1529	237	1557a	478	1595	633
1520/44	633	1530	562	1557b	866	1596	145
1520/45	633	1531	866	1558	344	1597	866
1520/46	522	1532	866	1559	866	1598	344
1520/47	522	1533	554	1560	633	1599a	237
1520/48	522	1534	633	1561	323	1599b	866
1520/49	522	1535a	163	1562	31	1600a	31
1520/50	327	1535b	522	1563	31	1600b	633
1520/51	510	1535c	258	1564	1	1601	866

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I-2-1602	31	I-2-1634	866	I-2-1667b	633	I-2-1690d	510
1603a	344	1635a	633	1668	866	1691a	866
1603b	866	1635b	478	1669a	866	1691b	633
1604	31	1636	866	1669b	866	1691c	581
1605	866	1637	866	1670	633	1691d	633
1606a	88	1638	633	1671a	866	1692a	866
1606b	520	1639	327	1671b	562	1692b	522
1607	866	1640	633	1672	505	1692c	391
1608	633	1641a	866	1673a	866	1692d	391
1609	633	1641b	478	1673b	327	1692e	866
1610	562	1641c	327	1674	859	1693a	633
1611	391	1641d	633	1675	633	1693b	866
1612	506	1642	866	1676	866	1693c	633
1613	866	1643	391	1677	866	1693d	633
1614	370	1644	866	1678	337	1693e	866
1615	633	1645	623	1679	478	1693f	317
1616	633	1646	633	1680	522	1694a	258
1617	633	1647	391	1681a	866	1694b	866
1618	866	1648	633	1681b	633	1694c	633
1619	196	1649	633	1682a	474	1694d	866
1620	581	1650	866	1682b	866	1695	562
1621	391	1651a	201	1683	633	1696a	866
1622a	633	1651b	391	1684a	863	1696b	391
1622b	866	1651c	391	1684b	633	1697	391
1622c	562	1652	340	1685a	866	1698	633
1622d	633	1653	136	1685b	258	1699	633
1622e	866	1654	633	1685c	866	1700a	510
1623	866	1655	581	1686a	622	1700b	554
1624	391	1656	866	1686b	633	1701a	258
1625a	633	1657	853	1687a	521	1701b	623
1625b	31	1658	522	1687b	866	1702	391
1626a	866	1659	633	1687c	633	1703a	866
1626b	522	1660	633	1687d	633	1703b	391
1627a	344	1661	327	1687e	633	1703c	633
1627b	633	1662	633	1687f	866	1703d	633
1628	866	1663a	633	1688a	633	1703e	633
1629	633	1663b	31	1688b	554	1704	370
1630	866	1664	391	1689	562	1705	633
1631	633	1665	866	1690a	633	1706	344
1632	866	1666	613	1690b	633	1707	633
1633	88	1667a	391	1690c	866	1708a	866

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I-2-1708b	633	I-2-1732	102	I-2-1763a	859	I-2-1785e	31
1708c	866	1733	633	1763b	866	1786	167
1709	258	1734a	866	1764	237	1787	866
1710	31	1734b	581	1765	202	1788a	18
1711a	391	1735	138	1766	31	1788b	633
1711b	88	1736a	866	1767	370	1789	866
1712	391	1736b	202	1768	633	1790	135
1713	633	1737	391	1769a	866	1791b	88
1714	866	1738a	237	1769b	866	1791d	31
1715	88	1738b	202	1769c	202	1792a	88
1716	866	1739	191	1769d	258	1792b	31
1717	633	1740	581	1770	866	1793a	162
1718a	866	1741	391	1771a	391	1793b	167
1718b	866	1742a	866	1771b	258	1794	866
1719	633	1742b	194	1772a	866	1795a	31
1720a	866	1743a	364	1772b	633	1795b	160
1720b	633	1743b	866	1772c	633	1796a	31
1721	866	1744	499	1772d	522	1796b	88
1722	853	1745	391	1772e	167	1797	88
1723a	391	1746	633	1773	866	1798	31
1723b	633	1747	866	1774	503	1799	319
1723c	866	1748	866	1775	258	1800	370
1724a	633	1749	633	1776	866	1801	633
1724b	391	1750	866	1777	202	1802	258
1724c	866	1751	195	1778	490	1803	191
1725	198	1752	370	1779a	633	1804	185
1726a	258	1753	202	1779b	510	1805a	202
1726b	478	1754a	391	1780a	866	1805b	391
1726c	88	1754b	391	1780b	633	1806	633
1727	137	1755	167	1780c	633	1807	391
1728	138	1756	603	1780d	316	1808a	633
1729a	581	1757	866	1780e	619	1808b	231
1729b	324	1758a	258	1780f	633	1809	866
1729c	633	1758b	866	1781	633	1810	202
1730	633	1758c	499	1782	202	1811a	862
1731a	391	1759	633	1783	319	1811b	478
1731b	391	1760	858	1784	31	1812	202
1731c	866	1761	619	1785a	167	1813	633
1731d	391	1762a	237	1785b	88	1814	562
1731e	490	1762b	327	1785c	866	1815	633
1731f	317	1762c	522	1785d	88	1816	633

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1818	490	1842	866	1867b	633	1891	633
1819	866	1843	344	1867c	866	1892	237
1820a	258	1844	633	1867d	633	1893a	866
1820b	633	1845	866	1868	478	1893b	866
1820c	866	1846a	364	1869	633	1894	17
1820d	522	1846b	633	1870	344	1895	633
1821	554	1847a	633	1871	866	1896	391
1822a	391	1847b	562	1872a	391	1897	340
1822b	866	1848	633	1872b	258	1898a	633
1822c	633	1849a	866	1873a	866	1898b	391
1823	633	1849b	631	1873b	258	1899	633
1824	866	1850	562	1874	391	1900	866
1825	633	1851	619	1875a	633	1901	850
1826	633	1852a	866	1875b	554	1902	866
1827a	866	1852b	258	1876a	633	1903	508
1827b	633	1853a	490	1876b	866	1904	866
1827c	866	1853b	391	1876c	202	1905	633
1828a	633	1853c	866	1876d	633	1906	202
1828b	633	1854	202	1877	633	1907	866
1828c	258	1855	391	1878a	633	1908a	474
1828d	866	1856	633	1878b	633	1908b	633
1829	633	1857a	489	1879a	866	1908c	633
1830	866	1857b	633	1879b	237	1909	633
1831	633	1858a	866	1879c	866	1910	633
1832	866	1858b	633	1879d	344	1911a	866
1833a	633	1859a	202	1880a	633	1911b	866
1833b	866	1859b	633	1880b	633	1911c	633
1833c	633	1859c	258	1881a	391	1911d	633
1834	866	1859d	866	1881b	866	1911e	866
1835	165	1860	633	1881c	344	1912	562
1836a	866	1861	391	1882	866	1913	866
1836b	344	1862	633	1883	258	1914	633
1837	258	1863a	866	1884	866	1915	866
1838a	633	1863b	258	1885a	581	1916	474
1838b	185	1864a	866	1885b	581	1917	866
1838c	866	1864b	370	1886a	237	1918	258
1838d	391	1864c	327	1886b	631	1919	153
1839a	258	1864d	633	1887	581	1920	866
1839b	866	1865	866	1888	633	1921	553
1840	490	1866	258	1889	866	1922	258

Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.	Field No.	Numismatic Cat. No.
I-2-1923	866	I-2-1943a	258	I-2-1965a	202	I-2-1981	866
1924a	633	1943b	866	1965b	633	1982	258
1924b	391	1944a	866	1966a	522	1983	866
1925	633	1944b	866	1966b	633	1984	391
1926	866	1945	237	1967a	391	1985	633
1927	633	1946	866	1967b	478	1986	562
1928a	610	1947	258	1968	199	1987	88
1928b	866	1948	159	1969	562	1988	391
1929	633	1949	383	1970	231	1989a	327
1930	506	1950	866	1971	391	1989b	633
1931	866	1951	633	1971a	633	1990	633
1932	633	1952	855	1972	866	1991	148
1933a	866	1953	866	1973a	581	1992	852
1933b	370	1954	193	1973b	231	1993	633
1934	236	1955	337	1974a	18	1994	31
1935	256	1956	866	1974b	866	1995	258
1936	31	1957	617	1975	326	1996	237
1937	391	1958	857	1976	391	1997	508
1938	256	1959	344	1977b	510	1998	340
1939a	633	1960	522	1977c	258	1999a	633
1939b	866	1961a	391	1978	866	1999b	633
1939c	258	1961b	866	1979a	633	2000	633
1940	173	1962a	344	1979b	866	2001	383
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18	11	373b	3	840	15	372	5
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9/14	33	9/33	46	59	56	51	3
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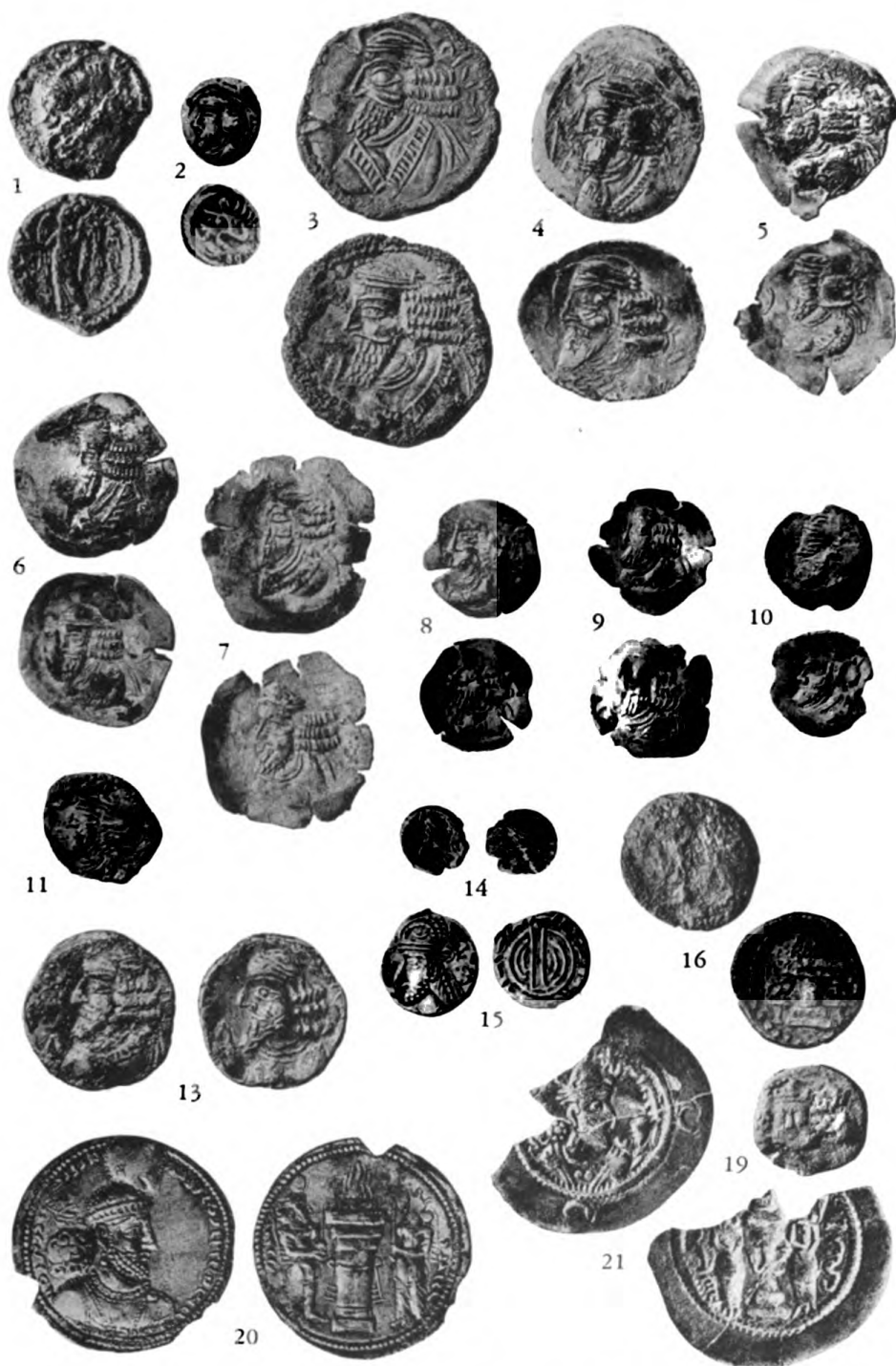
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1-16: PERSIS

19: ELYMAIS

20-21: SASANIAN

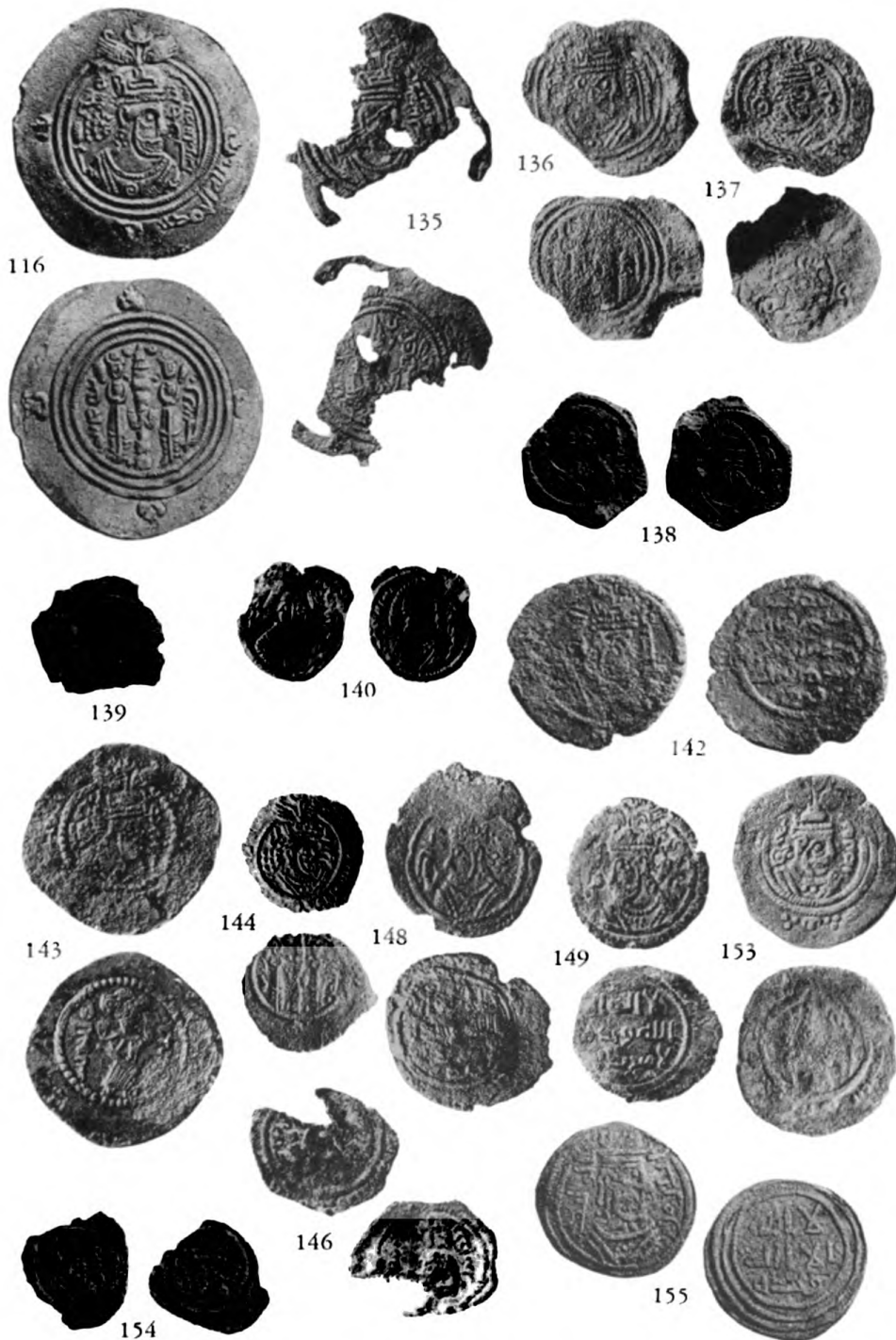
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### COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

23-30: SASANIAN

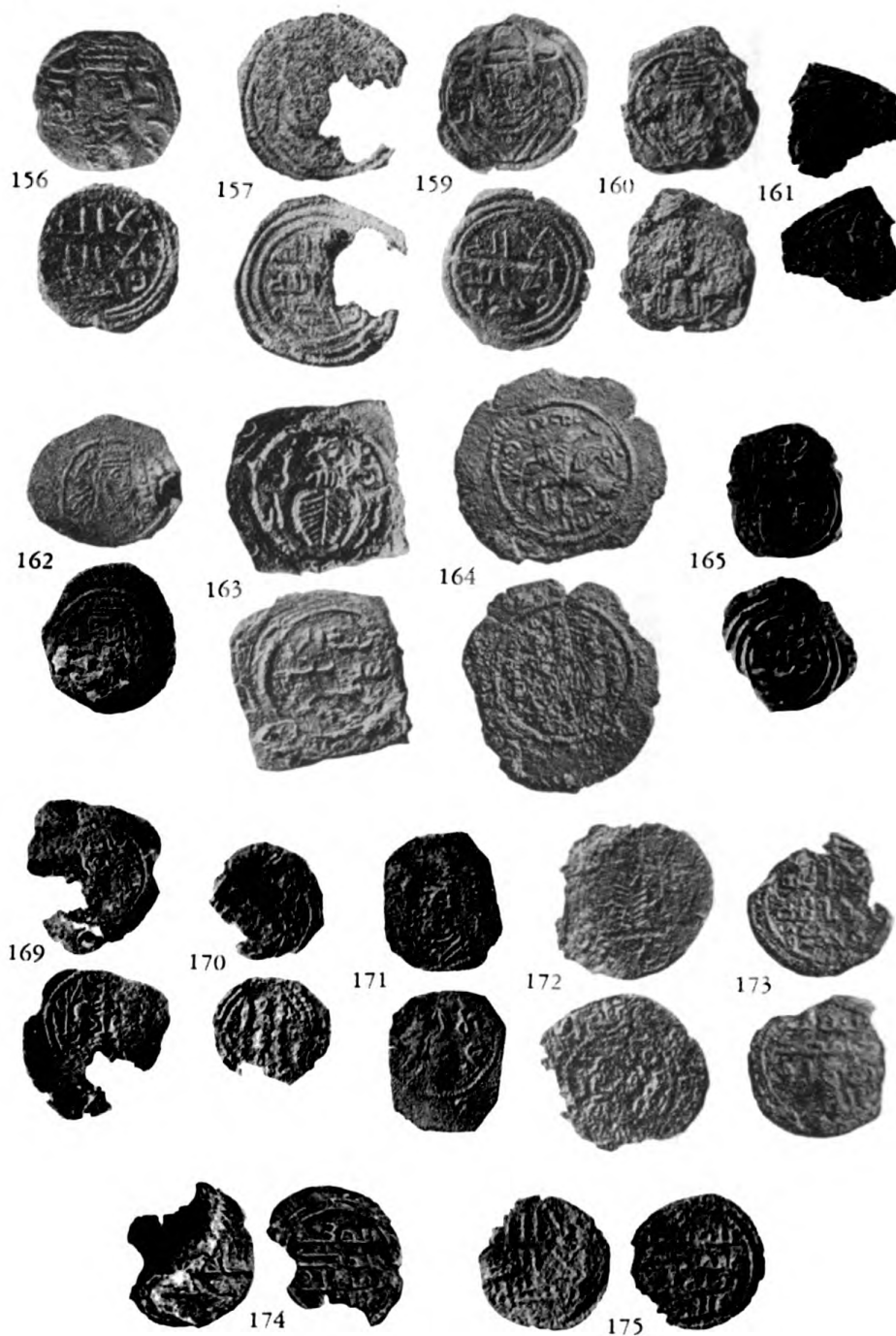
102-115: ARAB-SASANIAN



COINS FROM IŞTAKHR  
ARAB-SASANIAN



# IV



COINS FROM IŞTAKHR  
ARAB-SASANIAN



### COINS FROM IŞTAKHR

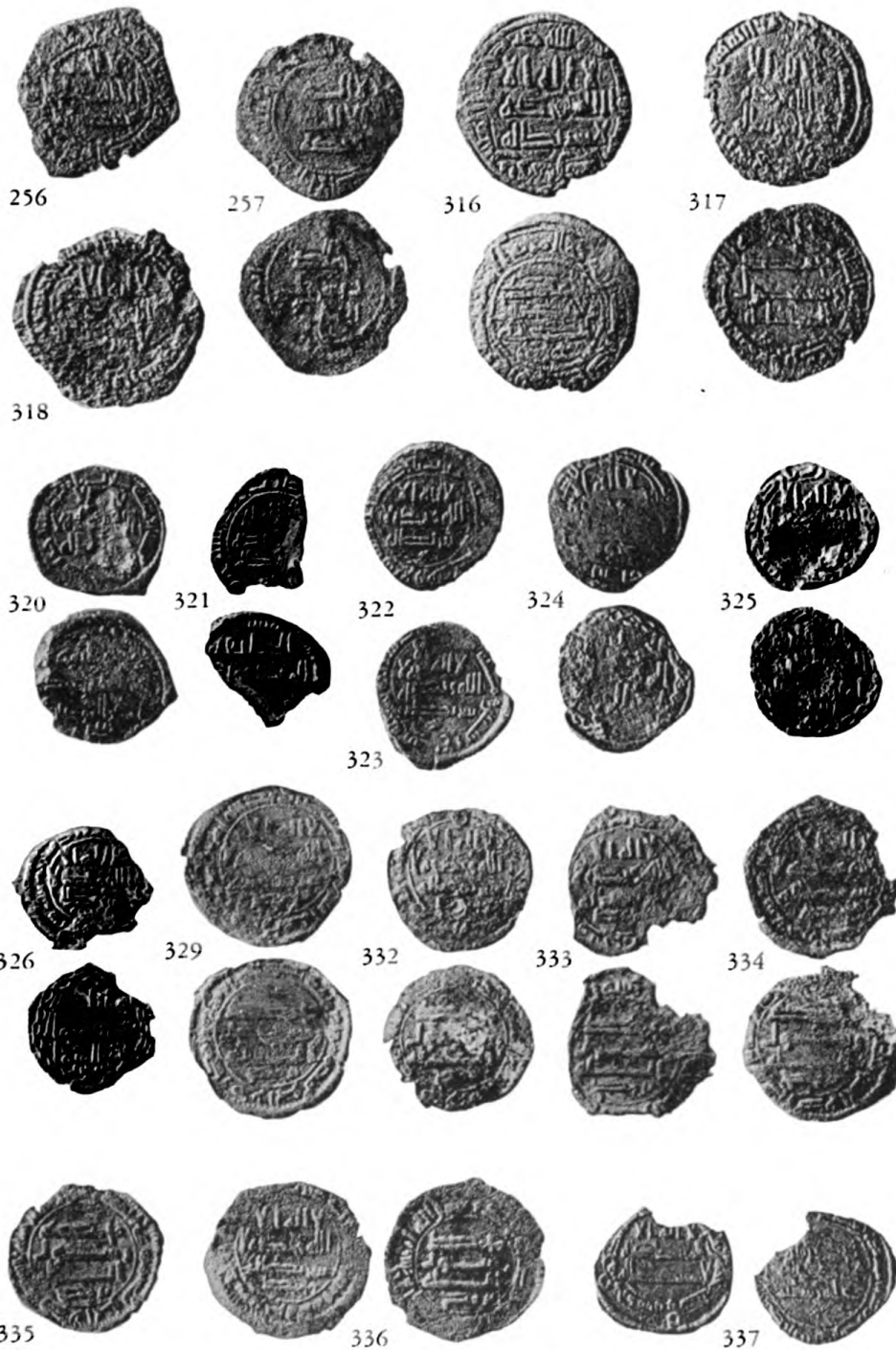
176-177: BYZANTINE

178-195: Umayyad

# VI



COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR  
UMAYYAD

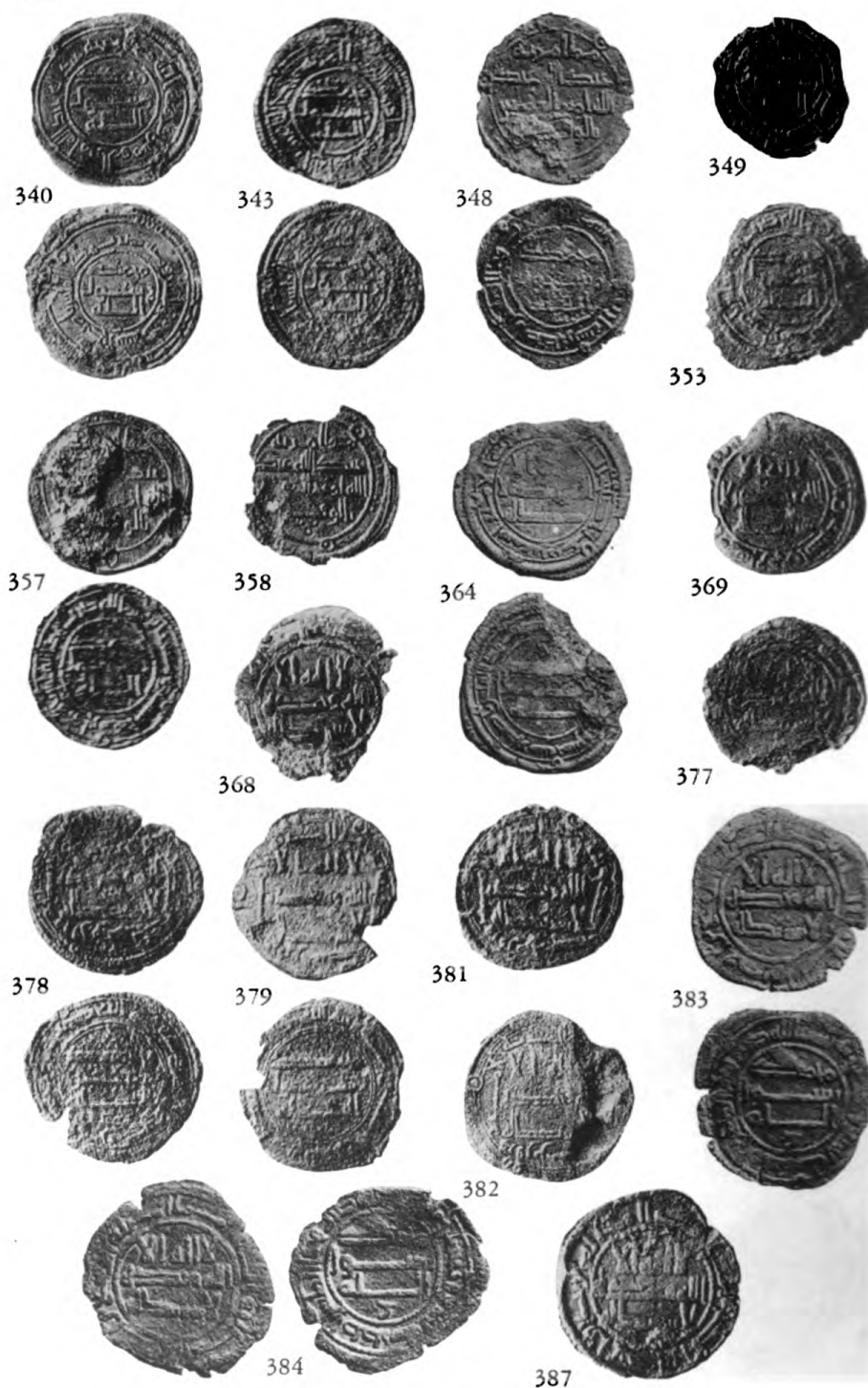


## COINS FROM IŞTAKHR

256-257: 'ABBĀSID PARTISANS

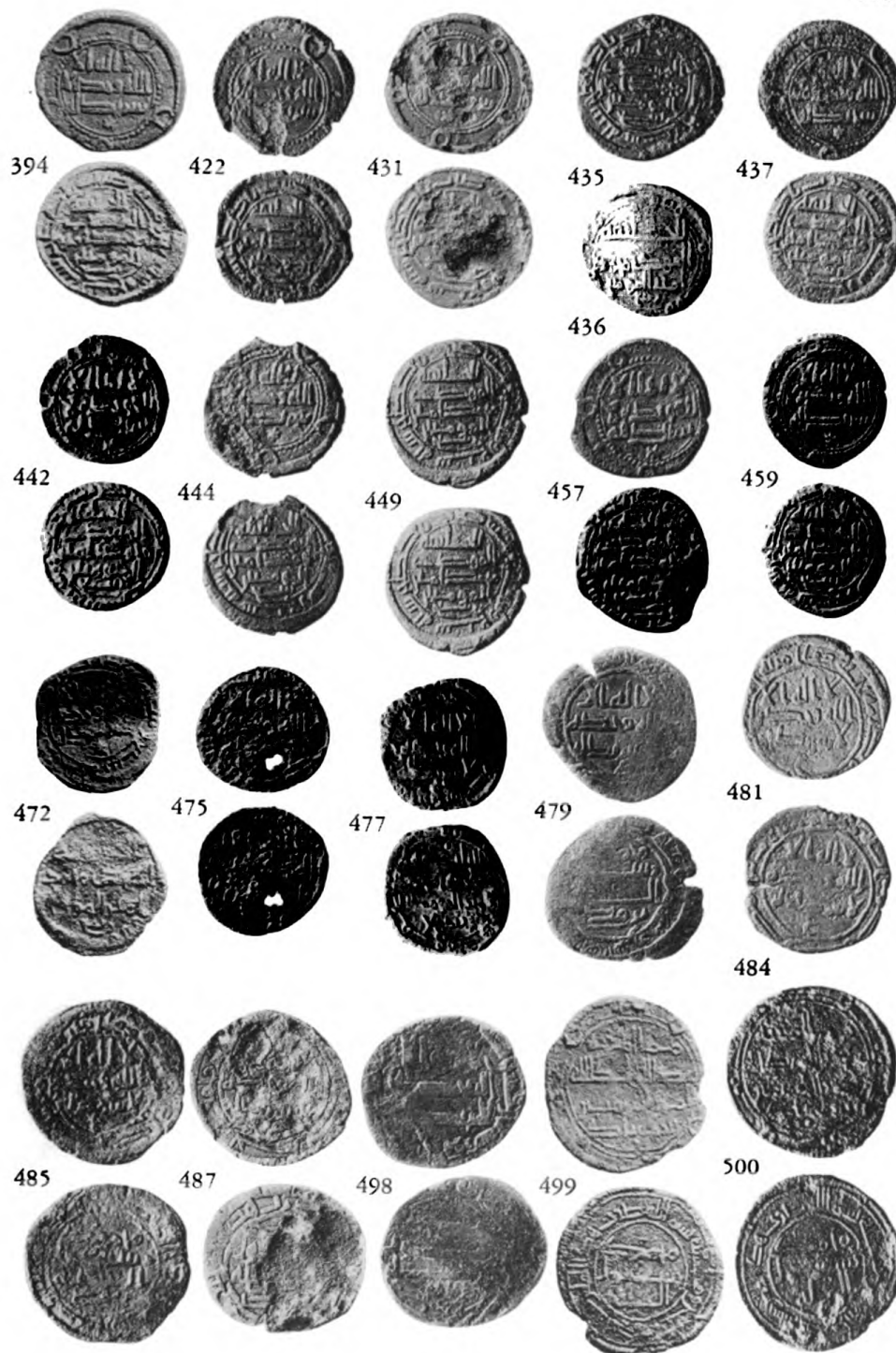
316-337: 'ABBĀSID

# VIII



COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR  
'ABBĀSID





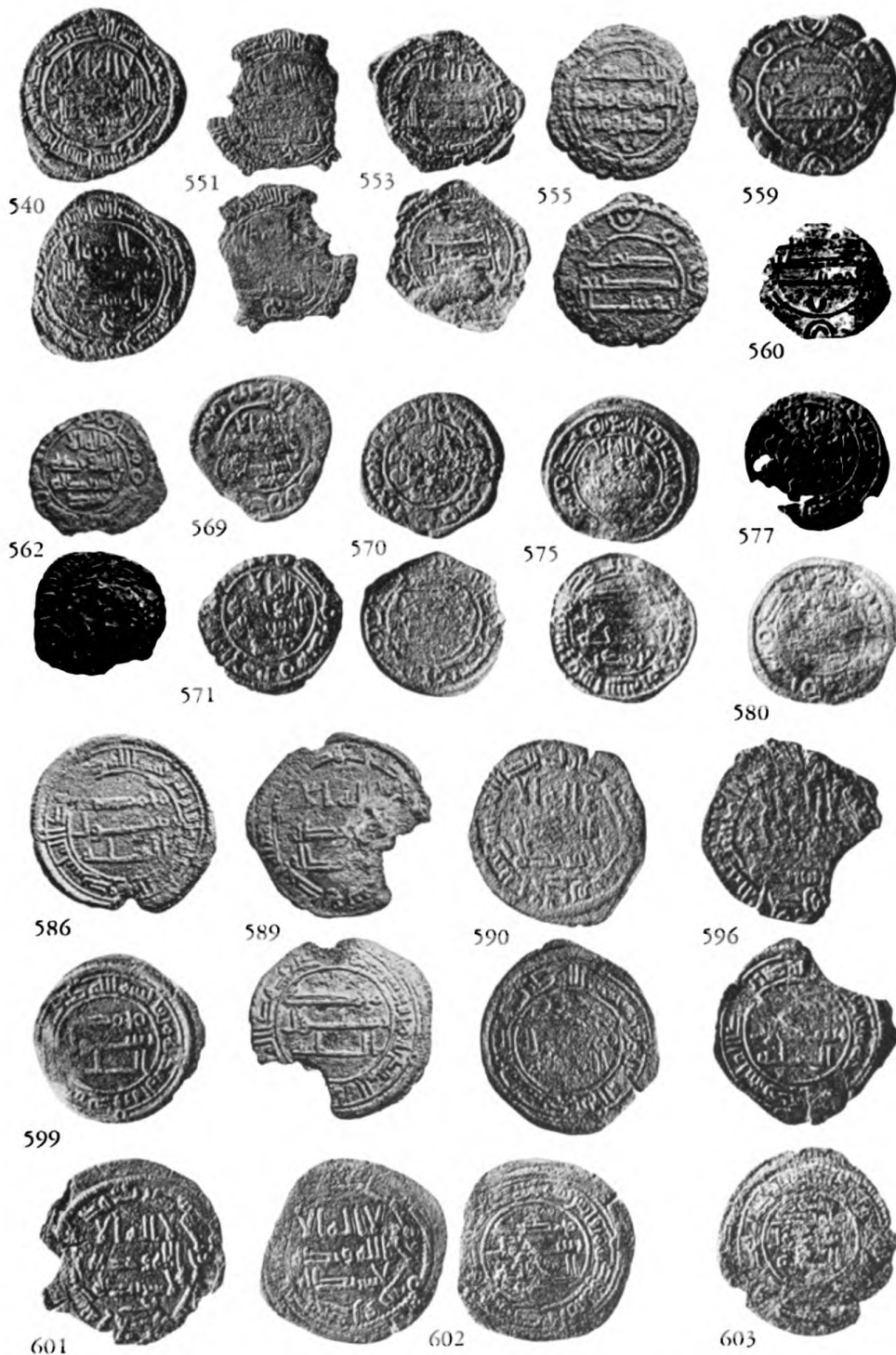
COINS FROM IŞTAKHR  
, 'ABBĀSID

X



COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR

‘ABBĀSID



COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR  
'ABBĀSID



## XII



COINS FROM IṢṬAKHR  
'ABBĀSID

XIII



COINS FROM IŠTAKHR

857: SĀMĀNID 858: BŪYID 861: SELJŪQ 862-863: ILKHĀNID

PT



COINS FROM PERSEPOLIS

1-2: SASANIAN  
4: UMMAYYAD

3: ARAB-SASANIAN  
5-7: 'ABBĀSID

# XIV



## COINS FROM PERSEPOLIS

10: ILKHĀNID

14: MUẒAFFARĪD

15: TĪMŪRĪD

16-17: AUTONOMOUS PERSIAN

NR



## COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

1: PERSIS

2-8: SASANIAN



## COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

10-16: SASANIAN

30: ARAB-SASANIAN

# XVI



COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM  
ARAB-SASANIAN





COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM  
ARAB-SASANIAN

# XVIII



## COINS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

51-56: ARAB-SASANIAN

57-58: UMAYYAD

61-64: 'ABBĀSID

68-69: ILKHĀNID

70-71: MUẒAFFARID



IŠAKHR





ISTAKIR — CENTER TEST EXCAVATIONS



NAQSH-I RUSTAM















